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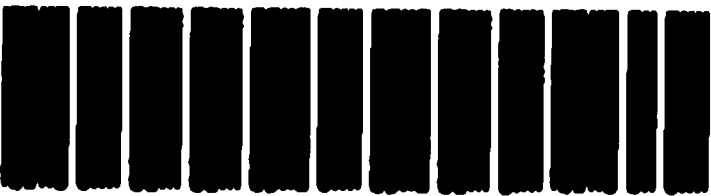
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE END OF THE
REIGN OF GEORGE II.

BY HUME AND SMOLLETT.

WITH
THE CONTINUATION,
FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.
TO THE
ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

BY THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.

LATE CANON OF PETERBOROUGH.

ALSO,
COPIOUS NOTES, THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS,
IMPROVEMENTS, AND ENLARGEMENT.

With Historical Illustrations, Autographs, and Portraits.

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"Histories," says Lord Bacon, "make men wise;" and in proportion as their minds are influenced by a natural love of their country, so must they feel a desire to become familiar with the most authentic account of its origin, its progress towards civilization, and the circumstances leading to its present importance in the scale of nations.



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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

BY
TOBIAS SMOLLETT, M.D.

FROM THE REVOLUTION IN 1688 TO THE DEATH OF
GEORGE THE SECOND IN 1760.

A.D. 1741 TO A.D. 1757.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XVIII.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1741.

1. The army under lord Cathcart and Sir Chaloner Ogle proceeds to the West-Indies—2. Nature of the climate on the Spanish main—3. Admiral Vernon sails to Carthagená—4. Attack of Fort Lazar—5. Expedition to Cuba—6. Rupture between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia—7. Battle of Molwitz—8. The king of Great Britain concludes a treaty of neutrality with France for the electorate of Hanover—9. A body of French forces join the elector of Bavaria—10. He is crowned king of Bohemia at Prague—11. Fidelity of the Hungarians—12. War between Russia and Sweden—13. Revolution in Russia—14. The Spanish and French squadrons pass unmolested by the English admiral in the Mediterranean—15. Inactivity of the naval power of Great Britain—16. Obstinate struggle in electing members in the new parliament—17. Remarkable motion in the house of commons by lord Noel Somerset—18. The country party obtain a majority in the house of commons—19. Sir Robert Walpole created earl of Orford—20. Change in the ministry—21. Inquiry into the administration of Sir Robert Walpole—22. obstructed by the new ministry—23. Reports of the secret committee—24. The elector of Bavaria chosen emperor—25. The king of Prussia gains the battle of Czaslaw. Treaty at Breslau—26. The French troops retire under the cannon of Prague. A fresh body sent with the marshal de Maillebois to bring them off—27. Extraordinary retreat of M. de Belleisle—28. The king of Great Britain forms an army in Flanders—29. Progress of the war between Russia and Sweden—30. The king of Sardinia declares for the house of Austria—31. Motions of the Spaniards in Italy and Savoy—32. Conduct of admiral Matthews in the Mediterranean—33. Operations in the West-Indies—34. The attention of the ministry turned chiefly on the affairs of the continent—35. Extraordinary motion in the house of lords by earl Stanhope—36. Warm and obstinate debate on the repeal of the gin-act—37. Bill for quieting corporations—38. Convention between the emperor and the queen of Hungary—39. Difference between the king of Prussia and the elector of Hanover—40. The king of Great Britain obtains a victory over the French at Dettingen—41. Treaty of Worms—42. Conclusion of the campaign—43. Affairs in the north—44. Battle of Campo Santo—45. Transactions of the British fleet in the Mediterranean—46. Unsuccessful attempts on the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies.

1. THE British armament had by this time proceeded to action in the West-Indies: Sir Chaloner Ogle, who sailed

from Spithead, had been overtaken by a tempest in the bay of Biscay, by which the fleet, consisting of about 170 sail, were scattered and dispersed: nevertheless, he prosecuted his voyage, and anchored, with a view to provide wood and water, in the neutral island of Dominica, where the intended expedition sustained a terrible shock in the death of the gallant lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dysentery: the loss of this nobleman was the more severely felt, as the command of the land forces devolved on general Wentworth, an officer without experience, authority, and resolution. As the fleet sailed along the island of Hispaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ships of war were discovered; and Sir Chaloner detached an equal number of his squadron to give them chase, while he himself proceeded on his voyage: as those strange ships refused to bring to, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, the commodore of the four British ships, saluted one of them with a broadside, and a smart engagement ensued: after they had fought during the best part of the night, the enemy hoisted their colors in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French squadron, which had sailed from Europe under the command of the marquis d'Antin, with orders to assist the Spanish admiral, De Torres, in attacking and distressing the English ships and colonies: war was not yet declared between France and England, therefore hostilities ceased: the English and French commanders complimented each other; excused themselves mutually for the mistake which had happened; and parted as friends, with a considerable loss of men on both sides.

2. In the mean time, Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica, where he joined vice-admiral Vernon, who now found himself at the head of the most formidable fleet and army that ever visited those seas, with full power to act at discretion: the conjoined squadrons consisted of nine and twenty ships of the line, with almost an equal number of frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, well manned and plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, stores, and necessaries: the number of seamen amounted to 15,000; that of the land forces, including the American regiment of four battalions, and a body of negroes enlisted at Jamaica, did not fall short of 12,000: had this armament been ready to act in the proper season of the year, under the conduct of wise, experienced officers, united in councils, and steadily attached to the interest and honor of their country, the Havanna and whole island of Cuba might have been easily

reduced; the whole treasure of the Spanish West-Indies would have been intercepted; and Spain must have been humbled into the most abject submission: but several unfavorable circumstances concurred to frustrate the hopes of the public: the ministry had detained Sir Chaloner Ogle at Spithead without any visible cause, until the season for action was almost exhausted; for on the continent of New Spain the periodical rains begin about the end of April, and this change in the atmosphere is always attended with epidemical distempers which render the climate extremely unhealthy; besides, the rain is so excessive, that for the space of two months no army can keep the field.

3. Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica on the ninth of January, and admiral Vernon did not sail on his intended expedition till towards the end of the month: instead of directing his course to the Havanna, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in less than three days, he resolved to beat up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motion of the French squadron, commanded by the marquis d'Antin: the fifteenth of February had elapsed before he received certain information that the French admiral had sailed for Europe in great distress for want of men and provisions, which he could not procure in the West-Indies: admiral Vernon, thus disappointed, called a council of war, in which it was determined to proceed for Carthagena: the fleet being supplied with wood and water at Hispaniola, set sail for the continent of New Spain, and on the fourth of March anchored in Playa Grande, to the windward of Carthagena: admiral de Torres had already sailed to the Havanna; but Carthagena was strongly fortified, and the garrison reinforced by the crews of a small squadron of large ships, commanded by Don Blas de Leso, an officer of experience and reputation. Here the English admiral lay inactive till the ninth, when the troops were landed on the island of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbor, known by the name of Boca-chica, or Little-mouth, which was surprisingly fortified with castles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ships of war: the British forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the admiral sent in a number of ships to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the endeavors of the army: lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded one of these ships, was slain on this occasion. The breach being deemed practicable, the

forces advanced to the attack ; but the forts and batteries were abandoned ; the Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbor's mouth were destroyed or taken ; the passage was opened, and the fleet entered without farther opposition : then the forces were re-embarked with the artillery, and landed within a mile of Carthagena, where they were opposed by about 700 Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire : the admiral and general had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expressing their mutual dislike : far from acting vigorously in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual reserve and separate cabals ; and each proved more eager for the disgrace of his rival than zealous for the honor of the nation.

4. The general complained that the fleet lay idle, while his troops were harassed and diminished by hard duty and distemper : the admiral affirmed that his ships could not lie near enough to batter the town of Carthagena : he upbraided the general with inactivity and want of resolution to attack the fort of St. Lazar which commanded the town, and might be taken by scalade. Wentworth, stimulated by these reproaches, resolved to try the experiment : his forces marched up to the attack ; but the guides being slain, they mistook their route, and advanced to the strongest part of the fortification, where they were moreover exposed to the fire of the town : colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded ; the scaling-ladders were found too short ; the officers were perplexed for want of orders and directions : yet the soldiers sustained a severe fire for several hours with surprising intrepidity, and at length retreated, leaving about 600 killed or wounded on the spot : their number was now so much reduced, that they could no longer maintain their footing on shore ; besides, the rainy season had begun with such violence as rendered it impossible for them to live in camp : they were therefore re-embarked, and all hope of farther success immediately vanished : the admiral, however, in order to demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place by sea, sent in the *Gallicia*, one of the Spanish ships which had been taken at *Boca-chica*, to cannonade the town with sixteen guns mounted on one side, like a floating battery : this vessel, manned by detachments of volunteers from different ships, and commanded by captain Hore, was warped into the inner harbor, and moored before day at a considerable distance

from the walls, in very shallow water: in this position she stood the fire of several batteries for some hours, without doing or sustaining much damage: then the admiral ordered the men to be brought off in boats, and the cables to be cut, so that she drove with the sea-breeze on a shoal, where she was soon filled with water. This exploit was absurd, and the inference which the admiral drew from it altogether fallacious: he said, it plainly proved that there was not depth of water in the inner harbor sufficient to admit large ships near enough to batter the town with any prospect of success: this indeed was the case in that part of the harbor to which the *Gallicia* was conducted; but a little farther to the left he might have stationed four or five of his largest ships abreast, within pistol-shot of the walls; and if this step had been taken, when the land forces marched to the attack of St. Lazar, in all probability the town would have been surrendered.

5. After the re-embarkation of the troops, the distempers peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with redoubled fury; and great numbers of those who escaped the vengeance of the enemy perished by a more painful and inglorious fate: nothing was heard but complaints and execrations; the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead: nothing was seen but objects of woe, and images of dejection. The conductors of this unfortunate expedition agreed in nothing but the expediency of a speedy retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace: the fortifications of the harbor were demolished, and the fleet returned to Jamaica. The miscarriage of this expedition, which had cost the nation an immense sum of money, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent; and the people were depressed in proportion to that sanguine hope by which they had been elevated: admiral Vernon, instead of undertaking any enterprise which might have retrieved the honor of the British arms, set sail from Jamaica with the forces in July, and anchored at the south-east part of Cuba, in a bay, on which he bestowed the appellation of Cumberland-harbor: the troops were landed, and encamped at the distance of twenty miles farther up the river, where they remained totally inactive, and subsisted chiefly on salt and damaged provisions till the month of November, when, being considerably diminished by sickness, they were put on board again, and re-conveyed to Jamaica: he was afterwards reinforced from England by

four ships of war and about 3000 soldiers; but he performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired; and the people began to perceive that they had mistaken his character.

6. The affairs on the continent of Europe were now more than ever embroiled: the king of Prussia had demanded of the court of Vienna part of Silesia, by virtue of old treaties of co-fraternity, which were either obsolete or annulled; and promised to assist the queen with all his forces, in case she should comply with his demand: but this being rejected with disdain, he entered Silesia at the head of an army, and prosecuted his conquests with great rapidity: in the mean time, the queen of Hungary was crowned at Presburg, after having signed a capitulation, by which the liberties of that kingdom were confirmed; and the grand duke her consort was, at her request, associated with her for ten years in the government: at the same time the states of Hungary refused to receive a memorial from the elector of Bavaria. During these transactions, his Prussian Majesty made his public entrance into Breslau, and confirmed all the privileges of the inhabitants: one of his generals surprised the town and fortress of Jablunka, on the confines of Hungary; prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of Great Glogau on the Oder, took the place by scalade, made the generals Wallis and Reyski prisoners, with 1000 men that were in garrison: here likewise the victor found the military chest, fifty pieces of brass cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

7. The queen of Hungary had solicited the maritime powers for assistance, but found them fearful and backward; being obliged therefore to exert herself with the more vigor, she ordered count Neuperg to assemble a body of forces, and endeavor to stop the progress of the Prussians in Silesia: the two armies encountered each other in the neighborhood of Neiss, at a village called Molwitz, and, after an obstinate dispute, the Austrians were obliged to retire, with the loss of 4000 men killed, wounded, or taken: the advantage was dearly purchased by the king of Prussia: his kinsman, Frederic, margrave of Brandenburg, and lieutenant-general Schuylemburg, were killed in the engagement, together with a great number of general officers, and about 2000 soldiers: after this action, Brieg was surrendered to the Prussian, and he forced the important pass of Fryewalde, which was de-

fended by 4000 Austrian hussars. The English and Dutch ministers, who accompanied him in his progress, spared no pains to effect an accommodation ; but the two sovereigns were too much irritated against each other to acquiesce in any terms that could be proposed : the queen of Hungary was incensed to find herself attacked, in the day of her distress, by a prince to whom she had given no sort of provocation ; and his Prussian majesty charged the court of Vienna with a design either to assassinate or carry him off by treachery ; a design which was disowned with expressions of indignation and disdain. Count Neuperg being obliged to abandon Silesia, in order to oppose the Bavarian arms in Bohemia, the king of Prussia sent thither a detachment to join the elector, under the command of count Deslan, who, in his route, reduced Glatz and Neiss, almost without opposition : then his master received the homage of the Silesian states at Breslau, and returned to Berlin. In December, the Prussian army was distributed in winter-quarters in Moravia, after having taken Olmutz, the capital of that province ; and in March his Prussian majesty formed a camp of observation in the neighborhood of Magdeburg.

8. The elector of Hanover was alarmed at the success of the king of Prussia, in apprehension that he would become too formidable a neighbor : a scheme was said to have been proposed to the court of Vienna for attacking that prince's electoral dominions, and dividing the conquest ; but it never was put in execution : nevertheless, the troops of Hanover were augmented ; the auxiliary Danes and Hessians in the pay of Great Britain were ordered to be in readiness to march ; and a good number of British forces encamped and prepared for embarkation : the subsidy of £300,000, granted by parliament, was remitted to the queen of Hungary ; and every thing seemed to presage the vigorous interposition of his Britannic majesty : but in a little time after his arrival at Hanover that spirit of action seemed to flag even while her Hungarian majesty tottered on the verge of ruin. France resolved to seize this opportunity of crushing the house of Austria : in order to intimidate the elector of Hanover, marshal Maillebois was sent with a numerous army into Westphalia ; and this expedient proved effectual : a treaty of neutrality was concluded ; and the king of Great Britain engaged to vote for the elector of Bavaria at the ensuing election of an emperor : the design of the French court was

to raise this prince to the imperial dignity, and furnish him with such succors as should enable him to deprive the queen of Hungary of her hereditary dominions.

9. While the French minister at Vienna endeavored to amuse the queen with the strongest assurances of his master's friendship, a body of 35,000 men began their march for Germany, in order to join the elector of Bavaria; another French army was assembled on the Rhine; and the count de Belleisle, being provided with large sums of money, was sent to negotiate with different electors: having thus secured a majority of voices, he proceeded to Munich, where he presented the elector of Bavaria with a commission, appointing him generalissimo of the French troops marching to his assistance; and now the treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded: the French king engaged to assist the elector with his whole power, towards raising him to the imperial throne; the elector promised, that after his elevation, he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire which France had conquered; that he would, in his imperial capacity, renounce the barrier-treaty, and agree that France should irrevocably retain whatever places she should subdue in the Austrian Netherlands: the next step of Belleisle was to negotiate another treaty between France and Prussia, importing that the elector of Bavaria should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrolese; that the king of Poland should be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia; and that his Prussian majesty should retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss and the county of Glatz. These precautions being taken, the count de Belleisle repaired to Frankfort in quality of ambassador and plenipotentiary from France at the imperial diet of election: it was in this city that the French king published a declaration, signifying, that as the king of Great Britain had assembled an army to influence the approaching election of an emperor, his most christian majesty, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, had ordered some troops to advance towards the Rhine, with a view to maintain the tranquillity of the Germanic body, and secure the freedom of the imperial election.

10. In July, the elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces under marshal Broglio, surprised the imperial city of Passau, on the Danube; and entering Upper Austria at the head of 70,000 men, took possession of Lintz, where he received the homage of the states of that country: un-

derstanding that the garrison of Vienna was very numerous, and that count Palfi had assembled 30,000 Hungarians in the neighborhood of this capital, he made no farther progress in Austria, but marched into Bohemia, where he was reinforced by a considerable body of Saxons, under the command of count Rutowski, natural son to the late king of Poland: by this time his Polish majesty had acceded to the treaty of Nymphenburg, and declared war against the queen of Hungary on the most frivolous pretences: the elector of Bavaria advanced to Prague, which was taken in the night by scalade; an achievement, in which Maurice, count of Saxe, another natural son of the king of Poland, distinguished himself at the head of the French forces. In December the elector of Bavaria made his public entry into his capital, where he was proclaimed king of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the usual solemnities; then he set out for Frankfort, to be present at the diet of election.

11. At this period the queen of Hungary saw herself abandoned by all her allies, and seemingly devoted to destruction; she was not however forsaken by her courage, nor destitute of good officers and an able ministry: she retired to Presburg, and in a pathetic Latin speech to the states expressed her confidence in the loyalty and valor of her Hungarian subjects: the nobility of that kingdom, touched with her presence and distress, assured her unanimously that they would sacrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence: the ban being raised, that brave people crowded to her standard; and the diet expressed their sentiments against her enemy by a public edict, excluding for ever the electoral house of Bavaria from the succession to the crown of Hungary; yet, without the subsidy she received from Great Britain, their courage and attachment would have proved ineffectual: by this supply she was enabled to pay her army, erect magazines, complete her warlike preparations, and put her strong places in a posture of defence: in December, her generals, Berenclau and Mentzel, defeated count Thoring, who commanded 8000 men, at the pass of Scardingen; and opening their way into Bavaria, laid the whole country under contribution; while count Kevenhuller retook the city of Lintz, and drove the French troops out of Austria: the grand signor assured the queen of Hungary, that, far from taking advantage of her troubles, he should seize all opportunities to convince her of his friendship; the pope permitted her to levy a tenth on the revenues

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of the clergy within her dominions, and even to use all the church-plate for the support of the war.

12. As the czarina expressed an inclination to assist this unfortunate princess, the French court resolved to find her employment in another quarter: they had already gained over to their interest count Gyllenburg, prime minister and president of the chancery in Sweden: a dispute happening between him and Mr. Burnaby, the British resident at Stockholm, some warm altercation passed; Mr. Burnaby was forbidden the court, and published a memorial in his own vindication; on the other hand, the king of Sweden justified his conduct in a rescript sent to all the foreign ministers. The king of Great Britain had proposed a subsidy-treaty to Sweden, which, from the influence of French councils, was rejected: the Swedes, having assembled a numerous army in Finland, and equipped a large squadron of ships, declared war against Russia on the most trifling pretences; and the fleet, putting to sea, commenced hostilities by blocking up the Russian ports in Livonia: a body of 11,000 Swedes commanded by general Wrangel, having advanced to Willmenstrand, were, in August, attacked and defeated by general Laschi, at the head of 30,000 Russians: count Lewenhaupt, who commanded the main army of the Swedes, resolved to take vengeance for this disgrace, after the Russian troops had retired into winter-quarters: in December he marched towards Wyburg; but receiving letters from the prince of Hesse-Homburg and the marquis de la Chetardie, the French ambassador at Petersburg, informing him of the surprising revolution which had just happened in Russia, and proposing a suspension of hostilities; he retreated with his army, in order to wait for farther instructions; and the two courts agreed to a cessation of arms for three months.

13. The Russians had been for some time discontented with their government: the late czarina was influenced chiefly by German councils, and employed a great number of foreigners in her service: these causes of discontent produced factions and conspiracies; and when they were discovered, the empress treated the authors of them with such severity as increased the general disaffection: besides, they were displeased at the manner in which she had settled the succession. The prince of Brunswick Luneburg-Bevern, father to the young czar, was not at all agreeable to the Russian nobility; and his consort, the princess Anne of Mecklenburg,

having assumed the reins of government during her son's minority, seemed to follow the maxims of her aunt, the late czarina: the Russian grandees and generals therefore turned their eyes on the princess Elizabeth, who was daughter of Peter the great, and the darling of the empire: the French ambassador gladly concurred in a project for deposing a princess who was well affected to the house of Austria: general Laschi approved of the design, which was chiefly conducted by the prince of Hesse-Homburg, who, in the reigns of the empress Catharine and Peter II. had been generalissimo of the Russian army. The good-will and concurrence of the troops being secured, two regiments of guards took possession of all the avenues of the imperial palace at Petersburg: the princess Elizabeth, putting herself at the head of 1000 men, on the fifth of December entered the winter-palace, where the princess of Mecklenburg and the infant czar resided: she advanced into the chamber where the princess and her consort lay, and desired them to rise, and quit the palace; adding that their persons were safe, and that they could not justly blame her for asserting her right: at the same time, the counts Osterman, Golofhairkin, Mingden, and Munich were arrested, their papers and effects were seized, and their persons conveyed to Schlisselburg, a fortress on the Neva. Early in the morning the senate assembling, declared all that had passed since the reign of Peter II. to be usurpation; and that the imperial dignity belonged of right to the princess Elizabeth: she was immediately proclaimed empress of all the Russias, and recognised by the army in Finland: she forthwith published a general act of indemnity; she created the prince of Hesse-Homburg generalissimo of her armies; she restored the Dolgorucky family to their honors and estates; she recalled and rewarded all those who had been banished for favoring her pretensions; she mitigated the exile of the duke of Courland, by indulging him with a maintenance more suitable to his rank; she released general Wrangel, count Wasaburg, and the other Swedish officers, who had been taken at the battle of Willmenstrand; and the princess Anne of Mecklenburg, with her consort and children, were sent under a strong guard to Riga, the capital of Livonia.

14. Amidst these tempests of war and revolution, the States-General wisely determined to preserve their own tranquillity: it was doubtless their interest to avoid the dangers and expenses of a war, and to profit by that stag-

nation of commerce which would necessarily happen among their neighbors that were at open enmity with each other: besides, they were overawed by the declarations of the French monarch on one side; by the power, activity, and pretensions of his Prussian majesty on the other; and they dreaded the prospect of a stadtholder at the head of their army: these at least were the sentiments of many Dutch patriots, reinforced by others that acted under French influence: but the prince of Orange numbered among his partisans and adherents many persons of dignity and credit in the commonwealth; he was adored by the populace, who loudly exclaimed against their governors, and clamored for a war without ceasing: this national spirit, joined to the remonstrances and requisitions made by the courts of Vienna and London, obliged the states to issue orders for an augmentation of their forces; but these were executed so slowly, that neither France nor Prussia had much cause to take umbrage at their preparations. In Italy the king of Sardinia declared for the house of Austria; the republic of Genoa was deeply engaged in the French interest; the pope, the Venetians, and the dukedom of Tuscany were neutral; the king of Naples resolved to support the claim of his family to the Austrian dominions in Italy, and began to make preparations accordingly: his mother, the queen of Spain, had formed a plan for erecting these dominions into a monarchy for her second son Don Philip; and a body of 15,000 men being embarked at Barcelona, were transported to Orbitello, under the convoy of the united squadrons of France and Spain. While admiral Haddock, with twelve ships of the line, lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, the Spanish fleet passed the straits in the night, and was joined by the French squadron from Toulon: the British admiral, sailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both squadrons drawn up in a line of battle: as he bore down on the Spanish fleet, the French admiral sent a flag of truce, to inform him that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with his master's allies. This interposition prevented an engagement: the combined fleets amounting to double the number of the English squadron, admiral Haddock was obliged to desist; and proceeded to Port Mahon, leaving the enemy to prosecute their voyage without molestation: the people of England were incensed at this transaction, and did

not scruple to affirm that the hands of the British admiral were tied up by the neutrality of Hanover.⁵

15. The court of Madrid seemed to have shaken off that indolence and phlegm which had formerly disgraced the councils of Spain: they no sooner learned the destination of commodore Anson, who had sailed from Spithead in the course of the preceding year, than they sent Don Pizarro with a more powerful squadron, on the same voyage, to defeat his design: he accordingly steered the same course, and actually fell in with one or two ships of the British armament near the straits of Magellan; but he could not weather a long and furious tempest, through which Mr. Anson proceeded into the South-Sea: one of the Spanish ships perished at sea; another was wrecked on the coast of Brazil; and Pizarro bore away for the Rio de la Plata, where he arrived with the three remaining ships in a shattered condition, after having lost 1200 men by sickness and famine. The Spaniards exerted the same vigilance and activity in Europe: their privateers were so industrious and successful, that in the beginning of this year they had taken, since the commencement of the war, 407 ships belonging to the subjects of Great Britain, valued at near 4,000,000 piastres: the traders had therefore too much cause to complain, considering the formidable fleets which were maintained for the protection of commerce. In the course of the summer, Sir John Norris had twice sailed towards the coast of Spain, at the head of a powerful squadron, without taking any effectual step for annoying the enemy; as if the sole intention of the ministry had been to expose the nation to

⁵ In the month of July two ships of Haddock's squadron falling in with three French ships of war, captain Barnet, the English commodore, supposing them to be Spanish register-ships, fired a shot in order to bring them to; and they refusing to comply with this signal, a sharp engagement ensued; after they had fought several hours, the French commander ceased firing, and thought proper to come to an explanation, when he and Barnet parted with mutual apologies.

In the course of this year a dangerous conspiracy was discovered at New York in North-America: one Hewson, a low publican, had engaged several negroes in a design to destroy the town and massacre the people: fire was set to several parts of the city: nine or ten negroes were apprehended, convicted, and burned alive: Hewson, with his wife, and a servant-maid privy to the plot, were found guilty and hanged, though they died protesting their innocence.

the ridicule and contempt of its enemies : the inactivity of the British arms appears the more inexcusable when we consider the great armaments which had been prepared : the land forces of Great Britain, exclusive of the Danish and Hessian auxiliaries, amounted to 60,000 men ; and the fleet consisted of above 100 ships of war, manned by 54,000 sailors.

16. The general discontent of the people had a manifest influence on the election of members for the new parliament, which produced one of the most violent contests between the two parties which had happened since the revolution : all the adherents of the prince of Wales concurred with the country party in opposition to the minister ; and the duke of Argyle exerted himself so successfully among the shires and boroughs of Scotland, that the partisans of the ministry could not secure six members out of the whole number returned from North-Britain : they were however much more fortunate in the election of the sixteen peers, who were chosen literally according to the list transmitted from court. Instructions were delivered by the constituents to a great number of members returned for cities and counties, exhorting and requiring them to oppose a standing army in time of peace ; to vote for the mitigation of excise laws, for the repeal of septennial parliaments, and for the limitation of placemen in the house of commons : they likewise insisted on their examining into the particulars of the public expense, and endeavoring to redress the grievances of the nation : obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the united kingdom with uncommon ardor and perseverance ; and such a national spirit of opposition prevailed, that, notwithstanding the whole weight of ministerial influence, the contrary interest seemed to preponderate in the new parliament.

17. The king returned to England in the month of October, and on the first of December the session was opened : Mr. Onslow being re-chosen speaker, was approved of by his majesty, who spoke in the usual style to both houses. He observed, that the former parliament had formed the strongest resolutions in favor of the queen of Hungary, for the maintenance of the pragmatic sanction, for the preservation of the balance of power, and the peace and liberties of Europe ; and that if the other powers which were under the like engagements with him had answered the just expectations so solemnly given, the support of the common cause would have been attended with less difficulty : he said, he had

endeavored, by the most proper and early applications, to induce other powers, that were united with him by the ties of common interest, to concert such measures as so important and critical a conjuncture required; that where an accommodation seemed necessary, he had labored to reconcile princes, whose union would have been the most effectual means to prevent the mischiefs which had happened, and the best security for the interest and safety of the whole: he owned his endeavors had not hitherto produced the desired effect; though he was not without hope that a just sense of approaching danger would give a more favorable turn to the councils of other nations: he represented the necessity of putting the kingdom in such a posture of defence as would enable him to improve all opportunities of maintaining the liberties of Europe, and defeat any attempts that should be made against him and his dominions; and he recommended unanimity, vigor, and despatch. The house of commons having appointed their several committees, the speaker reported the king's speech, and Mr. Herbert moved for an address of thanks, including an approbation of the means by which the war had been prosecuted: the motion being seconded by Mr. Trevor, lord Noel Somerset stood up, and moved, that the house would in their address desire his majesty not to engage these kingdoms in a war for the preservation of his foreign dominions: he was supported by that incorruptible patriot, Mr. Shippen, who declared he was neither ashamed nor afraid to affirm that thirty years had made no change in any of his political opinions: he said he was grown old in the house of commons; that time had verified the predictions he had formerly uttered; and that he had seen his conjectures ripened into knowlege: 'If my country,' added he, 'has been so unfortunate as once more to commit her interest to men who propose to themselves no advantage from their trust but that of selling it, I may perhaps fall once more under censure for declaring my opinion, and be once more treated as a criminal, for asserting what they who punish me cannot deny; for maintaining that Hanoverian maxims are inconsistent with the happiness of this nation; and for preserving the caution so strongly inculcated by those patriots, who framed the act of settlement, and conferred on the present royal family their title to the throne.' He particularised the instances in which the ministry had acted in diametrical opposition to that necessary constitution; and he insisted on the necessity of

taking some step to remove the apprehensions of the people, who began to think themselves in danger of being sacrificed to the security of foreign dominions. Mr. Gibbon, who spoke on the same side of the question, expatiated on the absurdity of returning thanks for the prosecution of a war which had been egregiously mismanaged: 'What!' said he, 'are our thanks to be solemnly returned for defeats, disgrace, and losses, the ruin of our merchants, the imprisonment of our sailors, idle shows of armaments, and useless expenses?' Sir Robert Walpole, having made a short speech in defence of the first motion for an address, was answered by Mr. Pulteney, who seemed to be animated with a double proportion of patriot indignation: he asserted, that from a review of that minister's conduct since the beginning of the dispute with Spain, it would appear that he had been guilty, not only of single errors, but of deliberate treachery; that he had always co-operated with the enemies of his country, and sacrificed to his private interest the happiness and honor of the British nation: he then entered into a detail of that conduct against which he had so often declaimed; and, being transported by an over-heated imagination, accused him of personal attachment and affection to the enemies of the kingdom; a charge, that was doubtless the result of exaggerated animosity, and served only to invalidate the other articles of imputation that were much better founded: his objections were overruled; and the address, as at first proposed, was presented to his majesty.

18. This small advantage however the minister did not consider as a proof of his having ascertained an undoubted majority in the house of commons: there was a great number of disputed elections; and the discussion of these was the point on which the people had turned their eyes, as the criterion of the minister's power and credit: in the first which was heard at the bar of the house, he carried his point by a majority of six only; and this he looked on as a defeat rather than a victory: his enemies exulted in their strength, as they knew they should be joined in matters of importance by several members who voted against them on this occasion: the inconsiderable majority that appeared on the side of the administration plainly proved that the influence of the minister was greatly diminished, and seemed to prognosticate his farther decline: this consideration induced some individuals to declare against him as a setting sun, from whose beams they could expect no farther

warmth : his adherents began to tremble ; and he himself had occasion for all his art and equanimity. The court-interest was not sufficient to support the election of their own members for Westminster : the high-bailiff had been guilty of some illegal practices at the poll ; and three justices of the peace had, on pretence of preventing riots, sent for a military force to over-awe the election : a petition presented by the electors of Westminster was taken into consideration by the house ; and the election was declared void by a majority of four voices : the high-bailiff was taken into custody ; the officer who ordered the soldiers to march, and the three justices who signed the letter, in consequence of which he acted, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the house.

19. The country party maintained the advantage they had gained in deciding on several other controverted elections ; and Sir Robert Walpole tottered on the brink of ruin : he knew that the majority of a single vote would at any time commit him prisoner to the Tower, should ever the motion be made ; and he saw that his safety could be effected by no other expedient but that of dividing the opposition : towards the accomplishment of this purpose he employed all his credit and dexterity : his emissaries did not fail to tamper with those members of the opposite party who were the most likely to be converted by their arguments. A message was sent by the bishop of Oxford to the prince of Wales, importing that if his royal highness would write a letter of condescension to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favor ; that £50,000 should be added to his revenue ; four times that sum be disbursed immediately for the payment of his debts ; and suitable provision be made in due time for all his followers. The prince declined this proposal : he declared that he would accept no such conditions while Sir Robert Walpole continued to direct the public affairs ; that he looked on him as a bar between his majesty and the affections of his people ; as the author of the national grievances both at home and abroad ; and as the sole cause of that contempt which Great Britain had incurred in all the courts of Europe : his royal highness was now chief of this formidable party, revered by the whole nation ; a party, which had gained the ascendancy in the house of commons ; which professed to act on the principles of public virtue ; which demanded the fall of an odious minister, as a sacrifice due to an injured people ; and declared

that no temptation could shake their virtue, that no art could dissolve the cement by which they were united. Sir Robert Walpole, though repulsed in this attempt on the prince of Wales, was more successful in his other endeavors: he resolved to try his strength once more in the house of commons, in another disputed election, and had the mortification to see the majority augmented to sixteen voices: he declared he would never more sit in that house; and next day, which was the third of February, the king adjourned both houses of parliament to the eighteenth of the same month: in this interim Sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

20. At no time of his life did he acquit himself with such prudential policy as he now displayed: he found means to separate the parts that composed the opposition, and to transfer the popular odium from himself to those who had professed themselves his keenest adversaries: the country party consisted of the tories, reinforced by discontented whigs, who had either been disappointed in their own ambitious views, or felt for the distresses of their country, occasioned by a weak and worthless administration: the old patriots, and the whigs whom they had joined, acted on very different, and indeed on opposite principles of government, and therefore they were united only by the ties of convenience: a coalition was projected between the discontented whigs and those of the same denomination who acted in the ministry: some were gratified with titles and offices; and all were assured, that in the management of affairs a new system would be adopted, according to the plan they themselves should propose: the court required nothing of them but that the earl of Orford should escape with impunity: his place of chancellor of the exchequer was bestowed on Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a lord of the treasury; and the earl of Wilmington succeeded him as first commissioner of that board; lord Harrington, being dignified with the title of earl, was declared president of the council; and in his room lord Carteret became secretary of state: the duke of Argyle was made master-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majesty's royal regiment of horse-guards, field-marshal and commander in chief of all the forces in South-Britain; but, finding himself disappointed in his expectations of the coalition, he in less than a month renounced all these employments: the marquis of Tweeddale was appointed secretary of state for Scotland, a post which

had been long suppressed ; Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy-council, and afterwards created earl of Bath : the earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the admiralty, in the room of Sir Charles Wager ; and, after the resignation of the duke of Argyle, the earl of Stair was appointed field-marshal of all his majesty's forces as well as ambassador extraordinary to the States-General. On the seventeenth of February, the prince of Wales, attended by a numerous retinue of his adherents, waited on his majesty, who received him graciously, and ordered his guards to be restored : lord Carteret and Mr. Sandys were the first who embraced the offers of the court without the consent or privity of any other leaders in the opposition, except that of Mr. Pulteney ; but they declared to their friends they would still proceed on patriot principles ; that they would concur in promoting an inquiry into past measures, and in enacting necessary laws to secure the constitution from the practices of corruption : these professions were believed, not only by their old coadjutors in the house of commons, but also by the nation in general. The reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales, together with the change in the ministry, were celebrated with public rejoicings all over the kingdom ; and immediately after the adjournment nothing but concord appeared in the house of commons.

21. But this harmony was of short duration : it soon appeared that those who had declaimed the loudest for the liberties of their country had been actuated solely by the most sordid, and even the most ridiculous motives of self-interest : jealousy and mutual distrust ensued between them and their former confederates : the nation complained, that instead of a total change of men and measures, they saw the old ministry strengthened by this coalition, and the same interest in parliament predominating with redoubled influence : they branded the new converts as apostates and betrayers of their country ; and in the transports of their indignation, they intirely overlooked the old object of their resentment. That a nobleman of pliant principles, narrow fortune, and unbounded ambition should forsake his party for the blandishments of affluence, power, and authority, will not appear strange to any person acquainted with the human heart ; but the sensible part of mankind will always reflect with amazement on the conduct of a man, who seeing himself idolised by his fellow-citizens, as the first and firmest patriot in the kingdom, as one of the most shining ornaments of his

country, could give up all his popularity, and incur the contempt or detestation of mankind, for the wretched consideration of an empty title, without office, influence, or the least substantial appendage : one cannot, without an emotion of grief, contemplate such an instance of infatuation : one cannot but lament that such glory should have been so weakly forfeited ; that such talents should have been lost to the cause of liberty and virtue : doubtless, he flattered himself with the hope of one day directing the councils of his sovereign ; but this was never accomplished, and he remained a solitary monument of blasted ambition. Before the change in the ministry, Mr. Pulteney moved that the several papers relating to the conduct of the war, which had been laid before the house, should be referred to a select committee, who should examine strictly into the particulars, and make a report to the house of their remarks and objections : the motion introduced a debate ; but on a division, was rejected by a majority of three voices. Petitions having been presented by the merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and almost all the trading towns in the kingdom, complaining of the losses they had sustained by the bad conduct of the war, the house resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on these remonstrances : the articles of the London petition were explained by Mr. Glover, an eminent merchant of that city : six days were spent in perusing papers and examining witnesses ; then the same gentleman summed up the evidence, and in a pathetic speech endeavored to demonstrate, that the commerce of Great Britain had been exposed to the insults and rapine of the Spaniards, not by inattention or accident, but by one uniform and continued design : this inquiry being resumed after the adjournment, copies of instructions to admirals and captains of cruising ships were laid before the house ; the commons passed several resolutions, on which a bill was prepared for the better protecting and securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom : it made its way through the lower house, but was thrown out by the lords. The pension-bill was revived, and sent up to the peers, where it was again rejected ; lord Carteret voting against that very measure which he had so lately endeavored to promote. On the ninth of March, lord Limerick made a motion for appointing a committee to inquire into the conduct of affairs for the last twenty years : he was seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn, and supported by Mr. Velters Cornwall, Mr. Phillips, Mr. W. Pitt, and lord

Percival, the new member for Westminster, who had already signalised himself by his eloquence and capacity: the motion was opposed by Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Henry Fox, surveyor-general to his majesty's works, and brother to lord Ilchester: though the opposition was faint and frivolous, the proposal was rejected by a majority of two voices. Lord Limerick, not yet discouraged, made a motion, on the twenty-third of March, for an inquiry into the conduct of Robert, earl of Orford, for the last ten years of his administration; and, after a sharp debate, it was carried in the affirmative: the house resolved to choose a secret committee by ballot; and in the mean time presented an address to the king, assuring him of their fidelity, zeal, and affection.

22. Sir Robert Godschall having moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act for septennial parliaments [1742.], he was seconded by Sir John Barnard, but warmly opposed by Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys; and the question passed in the negative. The committee of secrecy being chosen, began to examine evidence; and Mr. Paxton, solicitor to the treasury, refusing to answer such questions as were put to him, lord Limerick, chairman of the committee, complained to the house of his obstinacy: he was first taken into custody; and, still persisting in his refusal, committed to Newgate: then his lordship moved, that leave should be given to bring in a bill for indemnifying evidence against the earl of Orford; and it was actually prepared by a decision of the majority: in the house of lords it was vigorously opposed by lord Carteret, and as strenuously supported by the duke of Argyle; but fell on a division, by the weight of superior numbers. Those members in the house of commons who heartily wished that the inquiry might be prosecuted were extremely incensed at the fate of this bill: a committee was appointed to search the journals of the lords for precedents: their report being read, lord Strange, son of the earl of Derby, moved for a resolution, 'that the lords refusing to concur with the commons of Great Britain, in an indemnification necessary to the effectual carrying on the inquiry now depending in parliament, is an obstruction to justice, and may prove fatal to the liberties of this nation.' This motion, which was seconded by lord Quarendon, son of the earl of Lichfield, gave rise to a warm debate; and Mr. Sandys declaimed against it, as a step that would bring on an immediate dissolution of the

present form of government: it is really amazing to see with what effrontery some men can shift their maxims, and openly contradict the whole tenor of their former conduct: Mr. Sandys did not pass uncensured: he sustained some severe sarcasms on his apostasy from Sir John Hynde Cotton, who refuted all his objections; nevertheless, the motion passed in the negative. Notwithstanding this great obstruction purposely thrown in the way of inquiry, the secret committee discovered many flagrant instances of fraud and corruption in which the earl of Orford had been concerned: it appeared that he had granted fraudulent contracts for paying the troops in the West-Indies; that he had employed iniquitous arts to influence elections; that for secret service, during the last ten years, he had touched £1,453,400 of the public money; that above £50,000 of this sum had been paid to authors and printers of newspapers and political tracts written in defence of the ministry; that on the very day which preceded his resignation, he had signed orders on the civil-list revenues for above £30,000; but as the cash remaining in the exchequer did not much exceed £14,000, he had raised the remaining part of the £30,000, by pawning the orders to a banker: the committee proceeded to make farther progress in their scrutiny, and had almost prepared a third report, when they were interrupted by the prorogation of parliament.

23. The ministry, finding it was necessary to take some step for conciliating the affection of the people, gave way to a bill for excluding certain officers from seats in the house of commons: they passed another for encouraging the linen manufacture; a third for regulating the trade of the plantations; and a fourth to prevent the marriage of lunatics: they voted 40,000 seamen, and 62,500 landmen for the service of the current year: they provided for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, and voted £500,000 to the queen of Hungary: the expense of the year amounted to near £6,000,000, raised by the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, by the malt-tax, by £1,000,000 from the sinking-fund, by annuities granted on it for £800,000, and a loan of £1,600,000 from the Bank. In the month of July, John lord Gower was appointed keeper of his majesty's privy-seal; Allen lord Bathurst was made captain of the band of pensioners; and on the fifteenth of the month, Mr. Pulteney took his seat in the house of peers as earl of Bath. The king closed the session in the usual way, after having given them

to understand, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia, under his mediation; and that the late successes of the Austrian arms were in a great measure owing to the generous assistance afforded by the British nation.

24. By this time great changes had happened in the affairs of the continent: the elector of Bavaria was chosen emperor of Germany at Frankfort on the Maine, and crowned, by the name of Charles VII. on the twelfth of February: thither the imperial diet was removed from Ratisbon: they confirmed his election, and indulged him with a subsidy of fifty Roman months, amounting to about £200,000 sterling: in the mean time, the Austrian general, Kevenhuller, ravaged his electorate, and made himself master of Munich, the capital of Bavaria: he likewise laid part of the palatinate under contribution, in resentment for that elector's having sent a body of his troops to reinforce the imperial army. In March, count Saxe, with a detachment of French and Bavarians, reduced Egra; and the Austrians were obliged to evacuate Bavaria, though they afterwards returned. Kevenhuller took post in the neighborhood of Passau, and detached general Bernclau to Dinglesing on the Iser, to observe the motions of the enemy, who were now become extremely formidable: in May, a detachment of French and Bavarians advanced to the castle of Hilkersburg on the Danube, with a view to take possession of a bridge over the river: the Austrian garrison immediately marched out to give them battle, and a severe action ensued, in which the imperialists were defeated.

25. In the beginning of the year the queen of Hungary had assembled two considerable armies in Moravia and Bohemia: prince Charles of Lorrain, at the head of 50,000 men, advanced against the Saxons and Prussians, who thought proper to retire with precipitation from Moravia, which they had invaded: then the prince took the route to Bohemia; and marshal Broglio, who commanded the French forces in that country, must have fallen a sacrifice, had not the king of Prussia received a strong reinforcement, and entered that kingdom before his allies could be attacked: the two armies advanced towards each other, and on the seventeenth of May joined battle at Czaslaw, where the Austrians at first gained a manifest advantage, and penetrated as far as the Prussian baggage; then the irregulars began to plunder so eagerly, that they neglected every

other consideration: the Prussian infantry took this opportunity to rally; the battle was renewed; and, after a very obstinate contest, the victory was snatched out of the hands of the Austrians, who were obliged to retire, with the loss of 5000 men killed, and 1200 taken by the enemy: the Prussians paid dear for the honor of remaining on the field of battle, and from the circumstances of this action, the king is said to have conceived a disgust to the war: when the Austrians made such progress in the beginning of the engagement, he rode off with great expedition, until he was recalled by a message from his general, the count de Schwerin, assuring his majesty that there was no danger of a defeat: immediately after this battle, he discovered an inclination to accommodate all differences with the queen of Hungary: the earl of Hyndford, ambassador from the court of Great Britain, who accompanied him in this campaign, and was vested with full powers by her Hungarian majesty, did not fail to cultivate this favorable disposition; and, on the first of June, a treaty of peace between the two powers was concluded at Breslau: the queen ceded to his Prussian majesty the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz in Bohemia; and he charged himself with the payment of the sum lent by the merchants of London to the late emperor on the Silesian revenues: he likewise engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia in fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty, in which were comprehended the king of Great Britain, elector of Hanover, the czarina, the king of Denmark, the States-General, the house of Wolfenbuttle, and the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, on certain conditions, which were accepted.

26. The king of Prussia recalled his troops; while marshal Broglio, who commanded the French auxiliaries in that kingdom, and the count de Belleisle, abandoned their magazines and baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague: there they intrenched themselves in an advantageous situation; and prince Charles being joined by the other body of Austrians under prince Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them, on the hills of Girinsnitz. The grand duke of Tuscany arrived in the Austrian army, of which he took the command; and the French generals offered to surrender Prague, Egra, and all the other places they possessed in Bohemia, provided they might be allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, and baggage: the pro-

posals were rejected, and Prague invested on all sides about the end of July. Though the operations of the siege were carried on in an awkward and slovenly manner, the place was so effectually blocked up, that famine must have compelled the French to surrender at discretion had not very extraordinary efforts been made for their relief. The emperor had made advances to the queen of Hungary: he promised that the French forces should quit Bohemia, and evacuate the empire; and he offered to renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Bohemia, on condition that the Austrians would restore Bavaria; but these conditions were declined by the court of Vienna. The king of France was no sooner apprised of the condition to which the generals Broglie and Belleisle were reduced, than he sent orders to marshal Maillebois, who commanded his army on the Rhine, to march to their relief: his troops were immediately put in motion; and when they reached Amberg in the Upper Palatinate, were joined by the French and imperialists from Bavaria. Prince Charles of Lorraine, having received intelligence of their junction and design, left 18,000 men to maintain the blockade of Prague, under the command of general Festinitz, while he himself, with the rest of his army, advanced to Haydon, on the frontiers of Bohemia: there he was joined by count Kevenhuller, who from Bavaria had followed the enemy, now commanded by count Seckendorf and the count de Saxe: Seckendorf, however, was sent back to Bavaria, while marshal Maillebois entered Bohemia on the twenty-fifth of September: but he marched with such precaution, that prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement: meanwhile Festinitz, for want of sufficient force, was obliged to abandon the blockade of Prague, and the French generals, being now at liberty, took post at Leutmeritz: Maillebois advanced as far as Kadan; but seeing the Austrians possessed of all the passes of the mountains, he marched back to the palatinate, and was miserably harassed in his retreat by prince Charles, who had left a strong body with prince Lobkowitz to watch the motions of Belleisle and Broglie.

27. These generals, seeing themselves surrounded on all hands, returned to Prague, from whence Broglie made his escape in the habit of a courier, and was sent to command the army of Maillebois, who was by this time disgraced: prince Lobkowitz, who now directed the blockade of Prague, had so effectually cut off all communication between that

place and the adjacent country, that in a little time the French troops were reduced to great extremity, both from the severity of the season and the want of provision: they were already reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh and unclean animals; and they had no other prospect but that of perishing by famine or war, when their commander formed the scheme of a retreat, which was actually put in execution. Having taken some artful precautions to deceive the enemy, he, in the middle of December, departed from Prague at midnight, with about 14,000 men, thirty pieces of artillery, and some of the principal citizens as hostages for the safety of 900 soldiers whom he had left in garrison: notwithstanding the difficulties he must have encountered at that season of the year in a broken and unfrequented road, which he purposely chose, he marched with such expedition, that he had gained the passes of the mountains before he was overtaken by the horse and hussars of prince Lobkowitz. The fatigue and hardships which the miserable soldiers underwent are inexpressible: a great number perished in the snow; and many hundreds, fainting with weariness, cold, and hunger, were left to the mercy of the Austrian irregulars, consisting of the most barbarous people on the face of the earth: the count de Belleisle, though tortured with the hip-gout, behaved with surprising resolution and activity: he caused himself to be carried in a litter to every place where he thought his presence was necessary; and made such dispositions, that the pursuers never could make an impression on the body of his troops; but all his artillery, baggage, and even his own equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy: on the twenty-ninth of December he arrived at Egra, from whence he proceeded to Alsace without farther molestation; but when he returned to Versailles, he met with a very cold reception, notwithstanding the gallant exploit which he had performed. After his escape, prince Lobkowitz returned to Prague, and the small garrison which Belleisle had left in that place surrendered on honorable terms; so that this capital reverted to the house of Austria.

28. The king of Great Britain resolving to make a powerful diversion in the Netherlands, had, in the month of April, ordered 16,000 effective men to be embarked for that country; but as this step was taken without any previous concert with the States-General, the earl of Stair, destined to the command of the forces in Flanders, was in the mean time appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to

their high-mightinesses, in order to persuade them to co-operate vigorously in the plan which his Britannic majesty had formed ; a plan, by which Great Britain was engaged as a principal in a foreign dispute, and entailed on herself the whole burden of an expensive war, big with ruin and disgrace. England, from being the umpire, was now become a party in all continental quarrels ; and, instead of trimming the balance of Europe, lavished away her blood and treasure in supporting the interest and allies of a puny electorate in the north of Germany. The king of Prussia had been at variance with the elector of Hanover : the duchy of Mecklenburg was the avowed subject of dispute ; but his Prussian majesty is said to have had other more provoking causes of complaint, which however he did not think proper to divulge : the king of Great Britain found it convenient to accommodate these differences : in the course of this summer, the two powers concluded a convention, in consequence of which the troops of Hanover evacuated Mecklenburg, and three regiments of Brandenburg took possession of those bailiwicks that were mortgaged to the king of Prussia : the elector of Hanover being now secured from danger, 16,000 troops of that country, together with the 6000 auxiliary Hessians, began their march for the Netherlands ; and about the middle of October arrived in the neighborhood of Brussels, where they encamped : the earl of Stair repaired to Ghent, where the British forces were quartered : a body of Austrians was assembled ; and though the season was far advanced, he seemed determined on some expedition ; but all of a sudden the troops were sent into winter-quarters : the Austrians retired to Luxemburg ; the English and Hessians remained in Flanders ; and the Hanoverians marched into the county of Liege, without paying any regard to the bishop's protestation.

29. The States-General had made a considerable augmentation of their forces by sea and land ; but, notwithstanding the repeated instances of the earl of Stair, they resolved to adhere to their neutrality : they dreaded the neighborhood of the French, and they were far from being pleased to see the English get footing in the Netherlands : the friends of the house of Orange began to exert themselves ; the states of Groningen and West-Friesland protested, in favor of the prince, against the promotion of foreign generals which had lately been made ; but his interest was powerfully opposed by the provinces of Zealand and Holland, which had the

greatest weight in the republic. The revolution in Russia did not put an end to the war with Sweden: these two powers had agreed to an armistice of three months, during which the czarina augmented her forces in Finland: she likewise ordered the counts Osterman and Munich, with their adherents, to be tried: they were condemned to death, but pardoned on the scaffold, and sent in exile to Siberia. The Swedes, still encouraged by the intrigues of France, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, unless Carelia, and the other conquests of the czar Peter, should be restored: the French court had expected to bring over the new empress to their measures; but they found her as well disposed as her predecessor to assist the house of Austria: she remitted a considerable sum of money to the queen of Hungary, and at that same time congratulated the elector of Bavaria on his elevation to the imperial throne: the ceremony of her coronation was performed in May, with great solemnity, at Moscow; and in November she declared her nephew, the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, her successor, by the title of grand prince of all the Russias. The cessation of arms being expired, general Lasci reduced Fredericshelm, and obliged the Swedish army, commanded by count Lewenhaupt, to retire before him, from one place to another, until at length they were quite surrounded near Helsingfors: in this emergency the Swedish general submitted to a capitulation, by which his infantry were transported by sea to Sweden, his cavalry marched by land to Abo, and his artillery and magazines remained in the hands of the Russians. The king of Sweden being of an advanced age, the diet assembled in order to settle the succession; and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, as grandson to the eldest sister to Charles XII. was declared next heir to the crown: a courier was immediately despatched to Moscow, to notify to the duke this determination of the diet; and this message was followed by a deputation; but when they understood that he had embraced the religion of the Greek church, and been acknowledged successor to the throne of Russia, they annulled his election for Sweden, and resolved that the succession should not be re-established until a peace should be concluded with the czarina: conferences were opened at Abo for this purpose: in the mean time, the events of war had been so long unfortunate for Sweden, that it was absolutely necessary to appease the indignation of the people with some sacrifice: the generals Lewenhaupt and Boden-

brock were tried by a court-martial for misconduct: being found guilty, and condemned to death, they applied to the diet, by which the sentence was confirmed. The term of the subsidy-treaty between Great Britain and Denmark expiring, his Danish majesty refused to renew it; nor would he accede to the peace of Breslau: on the other hand, he became subsidiary to France, with which also he concluded a new treaty of commerce.

30. The court of Versailles were now heartily tired of maintaining the war in Germany, and had actually made equitable proposals of peace to the queen of Hungary, by whom they were rejected: thus repulsed, they redoubled their preparations, and endeavored by advantageous offers to detach the king of Sardinia from the interest of the house of Austria: this prince had espoused a sister to the grand duke, who pressed him to declare for her brother, and the queen of Hungary promised to gratify him with some territories in the Milanese: besides, he thought the Spaniards had already gained too much ground in Italy; but, at the same time, he was afraid of being crushed between France and Spain, before he could be properly supported: he therefore temporised, and protracted the negotiation, until he was alarmed at the progress of the Spanish arms in Italy, and fixed in his determination by the subsidies of Great Britain. The Spanish army assembled at Rimini, under the duke de Montemar; and being joined by the Neapolitan forces, amounted to 60,000 men, furnished with a large train of artillery: about the beginning of May, they entered the Bolognese: then the king of Sardinia, declaring against them, joined the Austrian army commanded by count Traun; marched into the duchy of Parma; and understanding that the duke of Modena had engaged in a treaty with the Spaniards, dispossessed that prince of his dominions: the duke de Montemar, seeing his army diminished by sickness and desertion, retreated to the kingdom of Naples, and was followed by the king of Sardinia as far as Rimini.

31. Here he received intelligence, that Don Philip, third son of his catholic majesty, had made an irruption into Savoy with another army of Spaniards, and had already taken possession of Chambery, the capital: he forthwith began his march for Piedmont: Don Philip abandoned Savoy at his approach; and, retreating into Dauphiny, took post under the cannon of Fort Barreaux: the king pursued him thither, and both armies remained in sight of each other till the

month of December, when the marquis de Minas, an active and enterprising general, arrived from Madrid, and took on him the command of the forces under Don Philip: this general's first exploit was against the castle of Aspremont, in the neighborhood of the Sardinian camp: he attacked it so vigorously, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate in four and forty hours: the loss of this important post compelled the king to retire into Piedmont; and the Spaniards marched back into Savoy, where they established their winter-quarters. In the mean time, the duke de Montemar, who directed the other Spanish army, though the duke of Modena was nominal generalissimo, resigned his command to count Gages, who attempted to penetrate into Tuscany; but was prevented by the vigilance of count Traun, the Austrian general: in December he quartered his troops in the Bolognese and Romagna; while the Austrians and Piedmontese were distributed in the Modenese and Parmesan: the pope was passive during the whole campaign; the Venetians maintained their neutrality; and the king of the two Sicilies was overawed by the British fleet in the Mediterranean.

32. The new ministry in England had sent out admiral Matthews to assume the command of this squadron, which had been for some time conducted by Lestock, an inferior officer; as Haddock had been obliged to resign his commission on account of his ill state of health: Matthews was likewise invested with the character of minister-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the states of Italy: immediately after he had taken possession of his command, he ordered captain Norris to destroy five Spanish galleys which had put into the bay of St. Tropez; and this service was effectually performed: in May he detached commodore Rowley, with eight sail, to cruise off the harbor of Toulon; and a great number of merchant ships belonging to the enemy fell into his hands: in August he sent commodore Martin with another squadron into the bay of Naples, to bombard that city, unless his Sicilian majesty would immediately recall his troops which had joined the Spanish army, and promise to remain neuter during the continuance of the war: Naples was immediately filled with consternation; the king subscribed to these conditions; and the English squadron rejoined the admiral on the road of Hieres, which he had chosen for his winter-station. Before this period he had landed some men at St. Remo, in the territories of Genoa, and

destroyed the magazines that were erected for the use of the Spanish army : he had likewise ordered two of his cruisers to attack a Spanish ship of the line, which lay at anchor in the port of Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica ; but the Spanish captain sent his men on shore, and blew up his ship, rather than she should fall into the hands of the English.

33. In the course of this year admiral Vernon and general Wentworth made another effort in the West-Indies : they had in January received a reinforcement from England, and planned a new expedition, in concert with the governor of Jamaica, who accompanied them in their voyage : their design was to disembark the troops at Porto Bello, and march across the isthmus of Darien, to attack the rich town of Panama : they sailed from Jamaica on the ninth of March, and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Porto Bello : there they held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that as the troops were sickly, the rainy season begun, and several transports not yet arrived, the intended expedition was become impracticable : in pursuance of this determination the armament immediately returned to Jamaica, exhibiting a ridiculous spectacle of folly and irresolution.⁶ In August, a ship of war was sent from thence, with about 300 soldiers, to the small island Rattan, in the bay of Honduras, of which, they took possession : in September, Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England with such troops as remained alive : these did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been sent abroad in that inglorious service : the inferior officers fell ignobly by sickness and despair, without an opportunity of signalling their courage ; and the commanders lived to feel the scorn and reproach of their country. In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament from St. Augustine, commanded by Don Marinel de Monteano, governor of that fortress : it consisted of six and thirty

⁶ In May, two English frigates, commanded by Captain Smith and Captain Stuart, fell in with three Spanish ships of war, near the island of St. Christopher : they forthwith engaged, and the action continued till night, by the favor of which the enemy retired to Porto Rico in a shattered condition.

In the month of September, the Tilbury ship of war, of sixty guns, was accidentally set on fire, and destroyed, off the island of Hispaniola, on which occasion 127 men perished ; the rest were saved by captain Hoare, of the Defiance, who happened to be on the same cruise.

ships, from which 4000 men were landed at St. Simons, and began their march for Frederica: general Oglethorpe, with a handful of men, took such wise precautions for opposing their progress, and harassed them in their march with such activity and resolution, that after two of their detachments had been defeated, they retired to their ships, and totally abandoned the enterprise.

34. In England the merchants still complained that their commerce was not properly protected, and the people clamored against the conduct of the war: they said, their burdens were increased to maintain quarrels with which they had no concern; to defray the enormous expense of inactive fleets and pacific armies. Lord Carteret had by this time insinuated himself into the confidence of his sovereign, and engrossed the whole direction of public affairs: the war with Spain was now become a secondary consideration, and neglected accordingly; while the chief attention of the new minister was turned on the affairs of the continent: the dispute with Spain concerned Britain only; the interests of Hanover were connected with the troubles of the empire: by pursuing this object he soothed the wishes of his master, and opened a more ample field for his own ambition: he had studied the policy of the continent with peculiar eagerness: this was the favorite subject of his reflection, on which he thought and spoke with a degree of enthusiasm: the intolerable taxes, the poverty, the ruined commerce of his country, the iniquity of standing armies, votes of credit, and foreign connexions, on which he had so often expatiated, were now forgotten or overlooked: he saw nothing but glory, conquest, or acquired dominion: he set the power of France at defiance; and as if Great Britain had felt no distress, but teemed with treasure which she could not otherwise employ, he poured forth her millions with a rash and desperate hand, in purchasing beggarly allies, and maintaining mercenary armies. The earl of Stair had arrived in England towards the end of August, and conferred with his majesty: a privy-council was summoned, and in a few days that nobleman returned to Holland: lord Carteret was sent with a commission to the Hague in September; and when he returned, the baggage of the king and the duke of Cumberland, which had been shipped for Flanders, was ordered to be brought on shore. The parliament met on the sixteenth of November, when his majesty told them that he had augmented the

British forces in the Low Countries with 16,000 Hanoverians and the Hessian auxiliaries, in order to form such a force, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, as might be of service to the common cause at all events: he extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the queen of Hungary, as well as the resolute conduct of the king of Sardinia, and that prince's strict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions: he mentioned the requisition made by Sweden, of his good offices for procuring a peace between that nation and Russia, the defensive alliances which he had concluded with the czarina and with the king of Prussia, as events which could not have been expected if Great Britain had not manifested a seasonable spirit and vigor in defence and assistance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe: he said, the honor and interest of his crown and kingdoms, the success of the war with Spain, the re-establishment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe would greatly depend on the prudence and vigor of their resolutions. The marquis of Tweedale moved for an address of thanks, which was opposed by the earl of Chesterfield for the reasons so often urged on the same occasion; but supported by lord Carteret on his new-adopted maxims, with those specious arguments which he could at all times produce, delivered with amazing serenity and assurance: the motion was agreed to, and the address presented to his majesty. About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his majesty and the king of Prussia was signed at Westminster. In the house of commons Mr. Lyttelton made a motion for reviving the place-bill; but it was opposed by a great number of members who had formerly been strenuous advocates for this measure, and rejected on a division: this was also the fate of a motion made to renew the inquiry into the conduct of Robert, earl of Orford: as many strong presumptions of guilt had appeared against him in the reports of the secret committee, the nation had reason to expect that this proposal would have been embraced by a great majority; but several members, who in the preceding session had been loud in their demands of justice, now shamefully contributed their talents and interest in stifling the inquiry.

35. When the house of lords took into consideration the several estimates of the expense occasioned by the forces in the pay of Great Britain, earl Stanhope, at the close of an elegant speech, moved for an address, to beseech and advise

his majesty, that in compassion to his people, loaded already with such numerous and heavy taxes, such large and growing debts, and greater annual expenses than the nation at any time before had ever sustained, he would exonerate his subjects of the charge and burden of those mercenaries who were taken into the service last year without the advice or consent of parliament: the motion was supported by the earl of Sandwich, who took occasion to speak with great contempt of Hanover; and, in mentioning the royal family, seemed to forget that decorum which the subject required: he had, indeed, reason to talk with asperity on the contract by which the Hanoverians had been taken into the pay of Great Britain: levy-money was charged to the account, though they were engaged for one year only, and though not a single regiment had been raised on this occasion: they had been levied for the security of the electorate; and would have been maintained if England had never engaged in the affairs of the continent. The duke of Bedford enlarged on the same subject: he said it had been suspected, nor was the suspicion without foundation, that the measures of the English ministry had long been regulated by the interest of his majesty's electoral territories; that these had been long considered as a gulf into which the treasures of Great Britain had been thrown; that the state of Hanover had been changed, without any visible cause, since the accession of its princes to the throne of England; affluence had begun to wanton in their towns, and gold to glitter in their cottages, without the discovery of mines or the increase of their commerce; and new dominions had been purchased, of which the value was never paid from the revenues of Hanover. The motion was hunted down by the new minister, the patriot lord Bathurst, and the earl of Bath, which last nobleman declared that he considered it as an act of cowardice and meanness to fall passively down the stream of popularity, to suffer his reason and integrity to be overborne by the noise of vulgar clamors, which had been raised against the measures of government by the low arts of exaggeration, fallacious reasonings, and partial representations: this is the very language which Sir Robert Walpole had often used against Mr. Pulteney and his confederates in the house of commons. The associates of the new secretary pleaded the cause of Hanover, and insisted on the necessity of a land war against France with all the vehemence of declamation: their suggestions were answered,

their conduct was severely stigmatised by the earl of Chesterfield, who observed, that the assembling an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the States-General, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by interest, to support the queen of Hungary, was a rash and ridiculous measure; the taking 16,000 Hanoverians into British pay, without consulting the parliament, seemed highly derogatory to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent to future times; that these troops could not be employed against the emperor, whom they had already recognised; that the arms and wealth of Britain alone were altogether insufficient to raise the house of Austria to its former strength, dominion, and influence; that the assembling an army in Flanders would engage the nation as principals in an expensive and ruinous war, with a power which it ought not to provoke, and could not pretend to withstand in that manner; that while Great Britain exhausted herself almost to ruin, in pursuance of schemes founded on engagements to the queen of Hungary, the electorate of Hanover, though under the same engagements, and governed by the same prince, did not appear to contribute any thing as an ally to her assistance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had sent into the field at a very exorbitant price; that nothing could be more absurd and iniquitous than to hire those mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home, and the nation groaned under such intolerable burdens: 'it may be proper,' added he, 'to repeat what may be forgotten in the multitude of other objects; that this nation, after having exalted the elector of Hanover from a state of obscurity to the crown, is condemned to hire the troops of that electorate to fight their own cause; to hire them at a rate which was never demanded before; and to pay levy-money for them, though it is known to all Europe that they were not raised for this occasion.' All the partisans of the old ministry joined in the opposition to earl Stanhope's motion, which was rejected by the majority: then the earl of Scarborough moved for an address, to approve of the measures which had been taken on the continent; and this was likewise carried by dint of numbers: it was not, however, a very eligible victory; what they gained in parliament they lost with the people: the new ministers became more odious than their predecessors; and people began to think that public virtue was an empty name.

36. But the most severe opposition they underwent was in their endeavors to support a bill which they had concerted, and which had passed through the house of commons with great precipitation: it repealed certain duties on spirituous liquors and licenses for retailing these liquors; and imposed others at an easy rate: when those severe duties, amounting almost to a prohibition, were imposed, the populace of London were sunk into the most brutal degeneracy, by drinking to excess the pernicious spirit called gin, which was sold so cheap, that the lowest class of the people could afford to indulge themselves in one continued state of intoxication, to the destruction of all morals, industry, and order: such a shameful degree of profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards in public, inviting people to be drunk for the small expense of one penny; assuring them they might be dead drunk for two-pence, and have straw for nothing: they accordingly provided cellars and places strewn with straw, to which they conveyed those wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication: in these dismal caverns they lay until they had recovered some use of their faculties, and then they had recourse to the same mischievous potion; thus consuming their health, and ruining their families, in hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with riot, execration, and blasphemy. Such beastly practices too plainly denoted a total want of all policy and civil regulation, and would have reflected disgrace on the most barbarous community: in order to restrain this evil, which was become intolerable, the legislature enacted that law which we have already mentioned; but the populace soon broke through all restraint: though no license was obtained, and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold in all corners of the streets; informers were intimidated by the threats of the people; and the justices of the peace, either from indolence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution. The new ministers foresaw that a great revenue would accrue to the crown from a repeal of this act; and this measure they thought they might the more decently take, as the law had proved ineffectual: but it appeared that the consumption of gin had considerably increased every year since those heavy duties were imposed: they therefore pretended, that should the price of the liquor be moderately raised, and licenses granted at twenty shillings each to the retailers, the lowest class of people would be debarred the use of it to excess;

their morals would of consequence be mended ; and a considerable sum of money might be raised for the support of the war, by mortgaging the revenue arising from the duty and the licenses : on these maxims the new bill was founded, and passed through the lower house without opposition ; but among the peers it produced the most obstinate dispute which had happened since the beginning of this parliament : the first assault it sustained was from lord Hervey, who had been divested of his post of privy-seal, which was bestowed on lord Gower ; and these two noblemen exchanged principles from that instant : the first was hardened into a sturdy patriot ; the other suppld into an obsequious courtier. Lord Hervey, on this occasion, made a florid harangue on the pernicious effects of that destructive spirit they were about to let loose on their fellow-creatures : several prelates expatiated on the same topics ; but the earl of Chesterfield attacked the bill with the united powers of reason, wit, and ridicule : lord Carteret, lord Bathurst, and the earl of Bath were numbered among its advocates ; and shrewd arguments were advanced on both sides of the question : after very long, warm, and repeated debates, the bill passed without amendments, though the whole bench of bishops voted against it ; and we cannot help owning that it has not been attended with those dismal consequences which the lords in the opposition foretold. When the question was put for committing this bill, and the earl of Chesterfield saw the bishops join in his division ; ‘I am in doubt,’ said he, ‘whether I have not got on the other side of the question ; for I have not had the honor to divide with so many lawn sleeves for several years.’

37. By the report of the secret committee it appeared that the then minister had commenced prosecutions against the mayors of boroughs who opposed his influence in the elections of members of parliament : these prosecutions were found on ambiguities in charters, or trivial informalities in the choice of magistrates : an appeal on such a process was brought into the house of lords ; and this evil falling under consideration, a bill was prepared for securing the independence of corporations ; but as it tended to diminish the influence of the ministry, they argued against it with their usual eagerness and success, and it was rejected on a division. The mutiny bill and several others passed through both houses : the commons granted supplies to the amount of £6,000,000, raised by the land-tax, the malt-tax, duties

on spirituous liquors and licenses, and a loan from the sinking-fund: in two years the national debt had suffered an increase of £2,400,000. On the twenty-first of April, 1743, the session was closed in the usual manner: the king, in his speech to both houses, told them that, at the requisition of the queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrians, to pass the Rhine for her support and assistance; that he continued one squadron of ships in the Mediterranean, and another in the West-Indies: he thanked the commons for the ample supplies they had granted, and declared it was the fixed purpose of his heart to promote the true interest and happiness of his kingdoms: immediately after the prorogation of parliament, he embarked for Germany, accompanied by the duke of Cumberland, lord Carteret, and other persons of distinction.

38. At this period the queen of Hungary seemed to triumph over all her enemies: the French were driven out of Bohemia and part of the Upper Palatinate; and their forces under marshal Broglio were posted on the Danube: prince Charles of Lorrain, at the head of the Austrian army, entered Bavaria, and in April obtained a victory over a body of Bavarians at Braunau: at the same time, three bodies of Croats, penetrating through the passes of the Tyrolese, ravaged the whole country to the very gates of Munich: the emperor pressed the French general to hazard a battle; but he refused to run the risk, though he had received a strong reinforcement from France: his imperial majesty, thinking himself unsafe in Munich, retired to Augsburg; marshal Seckendorf retreated with the Bavarian troops to Ingoldstadt, where he was afterwards joined by marshal Broglio, whose troops had in this retreat been pursued and terribly harassed by the Austrian cavalry and hussars. Prince Charles had opened a free communication with Munich, which now for the third time fell into the hands of the queen of Hungary: her arms likewise reduced Friedburg and Landsperg, while prince Charles continued to pursue the French to Donawert, where they were joined by 12,000 men from the Rhine: Broglio still avoided an engagement, and retreated before the enemy to Heilbron. The emperor, being thus abandoned by his allies, and stripped of all his dominions, repaired to Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity: he now made advances towards an accommodation with the queen of Hungary: his general, Seckendorf, had an interview with count Kevenhuller at the convent of Loversconfield,

where a convention was signed: this treaty imported, that the emperor should remain neuter during the continuance of the present war, and that his troops should be quartered in Franconia; that the queen of Hungary should keep possession of Bavaria till the peace; that Braunau and Scarding should be delivered up to the Austrians; that the French garrison of Ingolstadt should be permitted to withdraw, and be replaced by Bavarians; but that the Austrian generals should be put in possession of all the artillery, magazines, and warlike stores belonging to the French, which should be found in the place. The governors of Egra and Ingoldstadt refusing to acquiesce in the capitulation, the Austrians had recourse to the operations of war; and both places were reduced: in Ingoldstadt they found all the emperor's domestic treasure, jewels, plate, pictures, cabinets, and curiosities, with the archives of the house of Bavaria, the most valuable effects belonging to the nobility of that electorate, a prodigious train of artillery, and a vast quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition.

39. The French king, baffled in all the efforts he had hitherto made for the support of the emperor, ordered his minister at Frankfort to deliver a declaration to the diet, professing himself extremely well pleased to hear they intended to interpose their mediation for terminating the war: he said, he was no less satisfied with the treaty of neutrality which the emperor had concluded with the queen of Hungary; an event of which he was no sooner informed, than he had ordered his troops to return to the frontiers of his dominions, that the Germanic body might be convinced of his equity and moderation: to this declaration the queen of Hungary answered, in a rescript, that the design of France was to embarrass her affairs, and deprive her of the assistance of her allies; that the elector of Bavaria could not be considered as a neutral party in his own cause; that the mediation of the empire could only produce a peace either with or without the concurrence of France; that in the former case no solid peace could be expected; in the latter, it was easy to foresee that France would pay no regard to a peace in which she should have no concern: she affirmed, that the aim of the French king was solely to gain time to repair his losses, that he might afterwards revive the troubles of the empire. The elector of Mentz, who had favored the emperor, was now dead, and his successor inclined to the Austrian interest: he allowed this rescript to

be entered in the journal of the diet, together with the protests which had been made when the vote of Bohemia was suppressed in the late election: the emperor complained in a circular letter of this transaction, as a stroke levelled at his imperial dignity; and it gave rise to a warm dispute among the members of the Germanic body: several princes resented the haughty conduct, and began to be alarmed at the success of the house of Austria; while others pitied the deplorable situation of the emperor: the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, as electors of Hanover and Brandenburg, espoused opposite sides in this contest: his Prussian majesty protested against the investiture of the duchy of Saxe-Lauenburg, claimed by the king of Great Britain: he had an interview with general Seckendorf at Anspach, and was said to have privately visited the emperor at Frankfort.

40. The troops which the king of Great Britain had assembled in the Netherlands began their march for the Rhine in the latter end of February; and in May they encamped near Hoech on the river Maine, under the command of the earl of Stair: this nobleman sent major-general Bland to Frankfort, with a compliment to the emperor, assuring him, in the name of his Britannic majesty, that the respect owing to his dignity should not be violated, nor the place of his residence disturbed: notwithstanding this assurance, the emperor retired to Munich, though he was afterwards compelled to return, by the success of the Austrians in Bavaria. The French king, in order to prevent the junction of the British forces with prince Charles of Lorrain, ordered the marshal de Noailles to assemble 60,000 men on the Maine; while Coigny was sent into Alsace with a numerous army, to defend that province, and oppose prince Charles, should he attempt to pass the Rhine: the marshal de Noailles, having secured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, passed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and posted himself on the east side of that river, above Frankfort: the earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Maine and the forest of Darmstadt: from this situation he made a motion to Aschaffenburg, with a view to secure the navigation of the Upper Maine; but he was anticipated by the enemy, who lay on the other side of the river, and had taken possession of the posts above, so as to intercept all supplies: they were posted on the other side of the river, opposite to the allies, whose camp they overlooked;

and they found means, by their parties and other precautions, to cut off the communication by water between Frankfort and the confederates. The duke of Cumberland had already come to make his first campaign, and his majesty arrived in the camp on the ninth of June: he found his army, amounting to above 40,000 men, in danger of starving; he received intelligence that a reinforcement of 12,000 Hanoverians and Hessians had reached Hanau; and he resolved to march thither, both with a view to effect a junction, and to procure provision for his forces: with this view he decamped on the twenty-sixth of June. He had no sooner quitted Aschaffenburg, than it was seized by the French general: he had not marched above three leagues, when he perceived the enemy, to the number of 30,000, had passed the river farther down at Selingenstadt, and were drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen, to dispute his passage: thus he found himself cooped up in a very dangerous situation: the enemy had possessed themselves of Aschaffenburg behind, so as to prevent his retreat; his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded by hills and woods on the right, flanked on the left by the river Maine, on the opposite side of which the French had erected batteries that annoyed the allies on their march; in the front a considerable part of the French army was drawn up, with a narrow pass before them, the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on their left, and a morass in the centre: thus environed, the confederates must either have fought at a very great disadvantage, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war, had not the duke de Gramont, who commanded the enemy, been instigated by the spirit of madness to forego these advantages: he passed the defile; and, advancing towards the allies, a battle ensued: the French horse charged with great impetuosity, and some regiments of British cavalry were put in disorder; but the infantry of the allies behaved with such intrepidity and deliberation, under the eye of their sovereign, as soon determined the fate of the day: the French were obliged to give way, and repass the Maine with great precipitation, having lost above 5000 men killed, wounded, or taken: had they been properly pursued before they recollected themselves from their first confusion, in all probability they would have sustained a total overthrow: the earl of Stair proposed that a body of cavalry should be detached on this service; but his advice was over-ruled. The loss of the

allies in this action amounted to 2000 men: the generals Clayton and Monroy were killed; the duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of courage, was shot through the calf of the leg; the earl of Albemarle, general Huske, and several other officers of distinction were wounded: the king exposed his person to a severe fire of cannon as well as musketry; he rode between the first and second lines with his sword drawn, and encouraged the troops to fight for the honor of England: immediately after the action he continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the reinforcement. The earl of Stair sent a trumpet to marshal de Noailles, recommending to his protection the sick and wounded that were left on the field of battle; and these the French general treated with great care and tenderness: such generosity softens the rigors of war, and does honor to humanity.

41. The two armies continued on different sides of the river till the twelfth of July, when the French general, receiving intelligence that prince Charles of Lorraine had approached the Neckar, suddenly retired, and repassed the Rhine between Worms and Oppenheim: the king of Great Britain was visited by prince Charles and count Kevenhuller at Hanau, where the future operations of the campaign were regulated: on the twenty-seventh of August, the allied army passed the Rhine at Mentz, and the king fixed his headquarters in the episcopal palace at Worms: here the forces lay encamped till the latter end of September, when they advanced to Spire, where they were joined by 20,000 Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands: marshal Noailles having retreated into Upper Alsace, the allies took possession of Germersheim, and demolished the intrenchments which the enemy had raised on the Queich; then they returned to Mentz, and in October were distributed into winter-quarters, after an inactive campaign, that redounded very little to the honor of those by whom the motions of the army were conducted. In September a treaty had been concluded at Worms between his Britannic majesty, the king of Sardinia, and the queen of Hungary: she engaged to maintain 30,000 men in Italy; the king of Sardinia obliged himself to employ 40,000 infantry and 5000 horse, in consideration of his commanding the combined army, and receiving an annual subsidy of £200,000 from Great Britain: as a farther gratification, the queen yielded to him the city of Placentia, with several districts in the duchy of Pavia, and in the Novarese;

and all her right and pretensions to Final, at present possessed by the republic of Genoa, which they hoped would give it up, on being repaid the purchase-money, amounting to £300,000: this sum the king of England promised to disburse; and moreover to maintain a strong squadron in the Mediterranean, the commander of which should act in concert with his Sardinian majesty: finally, the contracting powers agreed that Final should be constituted a free port, like that of Leghorn. Nothing could be more unjust than this treaty, by which the Genoese were negotiated out of their property: they had purchased the marquisate of Final of the late emperor for a valuable consideration, and the purchase had been guarantied by Great Britain: it could not therefore be expected that they would part with this acquisition to a prince whose power they thought already too formidable; especially, on condition of its being made a free-port, to the prejudice of their own commerce: they presented remonstrances against this article, by their ministers at the courts of London, Vienna, and Turin; and as very little regard was paid to their representations, they threw themselves into the arms of France and Spain for protection.

42. After the battle of Dettingen, colonel Mentzel, at the head of a large body of irregulars belonging to the queen of Hungary, made an irruption into Lorrain, part of which they ravaged without mercy: in September prince Charles, with the Austrian army, entered the Brisgau, and attempted to pass the Rhine; but marshal Coigny had taken such precautions for guarding it on the other side, that he was obliged to abandon his design; and, marching back into the Upper Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country and in Bavaria: by this time the earl of Stair had solicited and obtained leave to resign his command: he had for some time thought himself neglected; and was unwilling that his reputation should suffer on account of measures in which he had no concern. In October the king of Great Britain returned to Hanover, and the army separated: the troops in British pay marched back to the Netherlands, and the rest took their route to their respective countries: the States-General still wavered between their own immediate interest and their desire to support the house of Austria: at length, however, they supplied her with a subsidy, and ordered 20,000 men to march to her assistance, notwithstanding the intrigues of the marquis de Fenelon,

the French ambassador at the Hague, and the declaration of the king of Prussia, who disapproved of this measure, and refused them a passage through his territories to the Rhine.

43. Sweden was filled with discontents, and divided into factions: the generals Bodenbrock and Lewenhaupt were beheaded, having been sacrificed as scape-goats for the ministry: some unsuccessful efforts by sea and land were made against the Russians: at last, the peace of Abo was concluded; and the duke of Holstein-Utin, uncle to the successor of the Russian throne, was chosen as next heir to the crown of Sweden. A party had been formed in favor of the prince of Denmark, and the order of the peasants actually elected him as successor: the debates in the college of nobles rose to a very dangerous degree of animosity, and were appeased by an harangue in Swedish verse, which one of the senators pronounced: the peasants yielded the point, and the succession was settled on the duke of Holstein. Denmark, instigated by French councils, began to make preparations of war against Sweden; but a body of Russian auxiliaries arriving in that kingdom, under the command of general Keith, and the czarina declaring she would assist the Swedes with her whole force, the king of Denmark thought proper to disarm: it had been an old maxim of French policy to embroil the courts of the north, that they might be too much employed at home to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany, while France was at war with the house of Austria. The good understanding between the czarina and the queen of Hungary was at this period destroyed, in consequence of a conspiracy which had been formed by some persons of distinction at the court of Petersburg, for removing the empress Elizabeth, and recalling the princess Anne to the administration: this design being discovered, the principal conspirators were corporally punished, and sent in exile to Siberia: the marquis de Botta, the Austrian minister, who had resided at the court of the czarina, was suspected of having been concerned in the plot; though the grounds of this suspicion did not appear till after he was recalled, and sent as ambassador to the court of Berlin: the empress demanded satisfaction of the queen of Hungary, who appointed commissioners to inquire into his conduct, and he was acquitted; but the czarina was not at all satisfied of his innocence: in February a defensive treaty of alliance was

concluded between this princess and the king of Great Britain.

44. By this time France was deprived of her ablest minister, in the death of the cardinal de Fleury, who had for many years managed the affairs of that kingdom : he is said to have possessed a lively genius and an insinuating address, to have been regular in his deportment and moderate in his disposition ; but at the same time he has been branded as deceitful, dissembling, and vindictive : his scheme of politics was altogether pacific ; he endeavored to accomplish his purposes by raising and fomenting intrigues at foreign courts ; he did not seem to pay much regard to the military glory of France ; and he too much neglected the naval power of that kingdom. Since Broglie was driven out of Germany, the French court affected uncommon moderation : they pretended that their troops had only acted as auxiliaries while they remained in the empire ; being, however, apprehensive of an irruption into their own dominions, they declared that those troops were no longer to be considered in that light, but as subjects acting in the service of France. The campaign in Italy proved unfavorable to the Spaniards : in the beginning of February count Gages, who commanded the Spanish army in the Bolognese, amounting to 24,000 men, passed the Penaro, and advanced to Campo Santo, where he encountered the imperial and Piedmontese forces, commanded by the counts Traun and Aspremont : the strength of the two armies was nearly equal ; the action was obstinate and bloody, though indecisive : the Spaniards lost about 4000 men killed, wounded, or taken : the damage sustained by the confederates was not quite so great : some cannon and colors were taken on both sides, and each claimed the victory. Count Gages repassed the Penaro ; retreated suddenly from Bologna, and marched to Rimini in the ecclesiastical state, where he fortified his camp in an advantageous situation, after having suffered severely by desertion : count Traun remained inactive in the Modenese till September, when he resigned his command to prince Lobkowitz : this general entered the Bolognese in October, and then advanced towards count Gages, who, with his forces, now reduced to 7000, retreated to Fano ; but afterwards took possession of Pesaro, and fortified all the passes of the river Foglia. The season was far advanced before the Spanish troops, commanded by Don Philip in Savoy, entered on action : in all probability, the courts of Versailles and Madrid carried on

some private negotiation with the king of Sardinia: this expedient failing, Don Philip decamped from Chambery in the latter end of August, and defiling through Dauphiny towards Briançon, was joined by the prince of Conti, at the head of 20,000 French auxiliaries: thus reinforced, he attacked the Piedmontese lines at Chateau-Dauphiné; but was repulsed in several attempts, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss. The French established their winter-quarters in Dauphiny and Provence, and the Spaniards maintained their footing in Savoy.

45. The British fleet, commanded by admiral Matthews, overawed all the states that bordered on the Mediterranean: this officer, about the end of June, understanding that fourteen xebecs, laden with artillery and ammunition for the Spanish army, had arrived at Genoa, sailed thither from the road of Hieres, and demanded of the republic that they would either oblige these vessels with the stores to quit their harbor, or sequester their lading until a general peace should be established: after some dispute, it was agreed that the cannon and stores should be deposited in the castle of Bonifacio, situated on a rock at the south end of Corsica; and that the xebecs should have leave to retire without molestation. The Corsicans had some years before revolted, and shaken off the dominion of the Genoese, under which their island had remained for many centuries: they found themselves oppressed, and resolved to assert their freedom: they conferred the sovereign authority on a German adventurer, who was solemnly proclaimed by the name of king Theodore: he had supplied them with some arms and ammunition, which he had brought from Tunis; and amused them with promises of being assisted by foreign powers in retrieving their independence; but as these promises were not performed, they treated him so roughly, that he had thought proper to quit the island, and they submitted again to their old masters: the troubles of Corsica were now revived: Theodore revisited his kingdom, and was recognised by the principal chiefs of the island: he published a manifesto; he granted a general pardon to all his subjects who should return to their obedience; he pretended to be countenanced and supported by the king of Great Britain and the queen of Hungary; he was certainly thought a proper instrument to perplex and harass the Genoese, and supplied at this juncture with a sum of money to purchase arms for the Corsicans; but a change soon happened in the British

ministry, and then he was suffered to relapse into his original obscurity. Admiral Matthews, though he did not undertake any expedition of importance against the maritime towns of Spain, continued to assert the British empire at sea through the whole extent of the Mediterranean: the Spanish army under Don Philip was no sooner in motion, than the English admiral ordered some troops and cannon to be disembarked for the security of Villa-Franca: some stores having been landed at Civita-Vecchia for the use of the Spanish forces under count Gages, Matthews interpreted this transaction into a violation of the neutrality which the pope had professed, and sent thither a squadron to bombard the place: the city of Rome was filled with consternation; and the pope had recourse to the good offices of his Sardinian majesty, in consequence of which the English squadron was ordered to withdraw: the captains of single cruising ships, by their activity and vigilance, wholly interrupted the commerce of Spain; cannonaded and burned some towns on the sea-side; and kept the whole coast in continual alarm.⁷

46. In the West-Indies some unsuccessful efforts were made by an English squadron, commanded by commodore Knowles: he attacked La Gueira, on the coast of Caraccas, in the month of February; but met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to desist, and make the best of his way for the Dutch island Curaçoa, where he repaired the damage he had sustained: his ships being refitted, he made another attempt on Porto Cavallo in April, which like the

⁷ In May a dreadful plague broke out at Messina in Sicily: it was imported in cotton and other commodities brought from the Morea; and swept off such a multitude of people, that the city was almost depopulated; all the galley slaves, who were employed in burying the dead, perished by the contagion; and this was the fate of many priests and monks, who administered to those who were infected: the dead bodies lay in heaps in the streets, corrupting the air, and adding fresh fuel to the rage of the pestilence: numbers died miserably, for want of proper attendance and necessaries; and all was horror and desolation: at the beginning of winter it ceased, after having destroyed near 50,000 inhabitants of Messina, and of the garrisons in the citadel and castle: it was prevented from spreading in Sicily by a strong barricado drawn from Melazzo to Taormina; but it was conveyed to Reggio in Calabria, by the avarice of a broker of that place, who bought some goods at Messina: the king of Naples immediately ordered lines to be formed, together with a chain of troops which cut off all communication between that place and the rest of the continent.

former miscarried : 1200 marines, being landed in the neighborhood of that place, were seized with such a panic, that it was found necessary to re-embark them without delay : then the commodore abandoned the enterprise, and sailed back to his station at the Leeward Islands, without having added much to his reputation, either as to conduct or resolution. On the continent of America the operations of the war were very inconsiderable : general Oglethorpe, having received intelligence that the Spaniards prepared for another invasion from St. Augustine, assembled a body of Indians, as a reinforcement to part of his own regiment, with the highlanders and rangers, and in the spring began his march, in order to anticipate the enemy : he encamped for some time in the neighborhood of St. Augustine, by way of defiance ; but they did not think proper to hazard an engagement ; and as he was in no condition to undertake a siege, he returned to Georgia. In October, the princess Louisa, youngest daughter of his Britannic majesty, was married by proxy, at Hanover, to the prince-royal of Denmark, who met her at Altena, and conducted her to Copenhagen.

CHAP. XIX.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1743.

1. Debate in parliament against the Hanoverian troops—2. Supplies granted—3. Projected invasion of Great Britain—4. A French squadron sails up the English channel—5. The kingdom is put in a posture of defence—6. The design of the French defeated. War between France and England—7. Bill against those who should correspond with the sons of the pretender—8. Naval engagement off Toulon—9. Advances towards peace made by the emperor—10. Treaty of Frankfort—11. Progress of the French king in the Netherlands—12. Prince Charles of Lorraine passes the Rhine—13. The king of Prussia makes an irruption into Bohemia—14. Campaign in Bavaria and Flanders—15. The king of Naples joins count Gages in Italy—16. Battle of Coni—17. Return of commodore Anson. Sir John Balchen perishes at sea—18. Revolution in the British ministry. Session of parliament—19. Death of the emperor Charles VII. Accommodation between the queen of Hungary and the young elector of Bavaria—20. The king of Prussia gains two successive battles at Friedburg and Sohr over the Austrian and Saxon forces—21. Treaty of Dresden. The grand duke of Tuscany elected emperor of Germany—22. The allies are defeated at Fontenoy—23. The king of Sardinia is almost stripped of his dominions—24. The English forces take Cape Breton—25. The importance of this conquest—26. Project of an insurrection in Great Britain—27. The eldest son of the chevalier de St. George lands in Scotland,—28. takes possession of Edinburgh,—29. defeats Sir John Cope at Preston-Pans—30. Efforts of the friends of government in Scotland—31. Precautions taken in England—32. The prince-pretender reduces Carlisle, and penetrates as far as Derby. Consternation of the Londoners—33. The rebels retreat into Scotland—34. They invest the castle of Stirling—35. The king's troops under Hawley are worsted at Falkirk—36. The duke of Cumberland assumes the command of the forces in Scotland—37. The rebels undertake the siege of Fort William.

1. THE discontents of England were artfully inflamed by anti-ministerial writers, who not only exaggerated the burdens of the people, and drew frightful pictures of the distress and misery which, they said, impended over the nation, but also employed the arts of calumny and misrepresentation, to excite a jealousy and national quarrel between the English

and Hanoverians: they affirmed that in the last campaign the British general had been neglected and despised; while the counsels of foreign officers, greatly inferior to him in capacity, quality, and reputation, had been followed, to the prejudice of the common cause; that the British troops sustained daily insults from their own mercenaries, who were indulged with particular marks of royal favor; that the sovereign himself appeared at Dettingen in a Hanoverian scarf, and that his electoral troops were of very little service in that engagement: though the most material of these assertions were certainly false, they made a strong impression on the minds of the people, already irritated by the enormous expense of a continental war maintained for the interest of Germany. When the parliament met in the beginning of December, a motion was made in the house of peers by the earl of Sandwich, for an address, beseeching his majesty to discontinue the Hanoverian troops in British pay, in order to remove the popular discontent, and stop the murmurs of the English troops abroad: he was supported by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Chesterfield, and all the leaders in the opposition, who did not fail to enumerate and insist on all the circumstances we have mentioned: they moreover observed that better troops might be hired at a smaller expense; that it would be a vain and endless task to exhaust the national treasure, in enriching a hungry and barren electorate; that the popular dissatisfaction against these mercenaries was so general, and raised to such violence, as nothing but their dismissal could appease; that if such hirelings should be thus continued from year to year, they might at last become a burden entailed on the nation, and be made subservient, under some ambitious prince, to purposes destructive of the British liberty: these were the suggestions of spleen and animosity; for, granting the necessity of a land war, the Hanoverians were the most natural allies and auxiliaries which Great Britain could engage and employ: how insolent soever some few individual generals of that electorate might have been in their private deportment, certain it is, their troops behaved with great sobriety, discipline, and decorum, and in the day of battle did their duty with as much courage and alacrity as any body of men ever displayed on the like occasion. The motion was rejected by the majority; but when the term for keeping them in the British pay was nearly expired, and the estimates for their being continued the ensuing year were laid before the house,

the earl of Sandwich renewed his motion: the lord chancellor, as speaker of the house, interposing, declared, that by their rules a question once rejected could not be revived during the same session: a debate ensued, and the second motion was over-ruled. The Hanoverian troops were voted in the house of commons: nevertheless, the same nobleman moved in the upper house that the continuing 16,000 Hanoverians in British pay was prejudicial to his majesty's true interest, useless to the common cause, and dangerous to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation: he was seconded by the duke of Marlborough, who had resigned his commission in disgust; and the proposal gave birth to another warm dispute; but victory declared, as usual, for the ministry.

2. In the house of commons they sustained divers attacks: a motion was made for laying a duty of eight shillings in the pound on all places and pensions: Mr. Grenville moved for an address, to beseech his majesty that he would not engage the British nation any farther in the war on the continent, without the concurrence of the States-General on certain stipulated proportions of force and expense, as in the late war: these proposals begat vigorous debates, in which the country party were always foiled by dint of superior numbers. Such was the credit and influence of the ministry in parliament, that although the national debt was increased by above £6,000,000 since the commencement of the war, the commons indulged them with an enormous sum for the expense of the ensuing year: the grants specified in the votes amounted to £6,500,000: to this sum were added £3,500,000 paid to the sinking-fund in perpetual taxes; so that this year's expense rose to £10,000,000. The funds established for the annual charge were the land and malt-taxes; £1,000,000 paid by the East-India company for the renewal of their charter, £1,200,000 by annuities, £1,000,000 from the sinking-fund, £36,000 from the coinage, and £600,000 by a lottery; an expedient, which for some time had been annually repeated; and which in a great measure contributed to debauch the morals of the public, by introducing a spirit of gaming, destructive of all industry and virtue.

3. The dissensions of the British parliament were suddenly suspended by an event that seemed to unite both parties in the prosecution of the same measures: this was the intelligence of an intended invasion. By the parliamentary disputes, the loud clamors, and the general dis-

satisfaction of the people in Great Britain, the French ministry were persuaded that the nation was ripe for a revolt: this belief was corroborated by the assertions of their emissaries in different parts of Great Britain and Ireland: these were papists and Jacobites of strong prejudices and warm imaginations, who saw things through the medium of passion and party, and spoke rather from extravagant zeal than from sober conviction: they gave the court of Versailles to understand, that if the chevalier de St. George, or his eldest son, Charles Edward, should appear at the head of a French army in Great Britain, a revolution would instantly follow in his favor: this intimation was agreeable to cardinal de Tencin, who since the death of Fleury had borne a share in the administration of France: he was of a violent, enterprising temper: he had been recommended to the purple by the chevalier de St. George, and was seemingly attached to the Stuart family: his ambition was flattered with the prospect of giving a king to Great Britain, of performing such eminent service to his benefactor, and of restoring to the throne of their ancestors a family connected by the ties of blood with all the greatest princes of Europe. The ministry of France foresaw, that even if this aim should miscarry, a descent on Great Britain would make a considerable diversion from the continent in favor of France, and embroil and embarrass his Britannic majesty, who was the chief support of the house of Austria and all its allies: actuated by these motives, they concerted measures with the chevalier de St. George at Rome, who being too much advanced in years to engage personally in such an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretensions and authority to his son Charles, a youth of promising talents, sage, secret, brave, and enterprising, amiable in his person, grave, and even reserved in his deportment: he approved himself in the sequel composed and moderate in success, wonderfully firm in adversity; and though tenderly nursed in all the delights of an effeminate country and gentle climate, patient almost beyond belief of cold, hunger, and fatigue: such was the adventurer now destined to fill the hope which the French ministry had conceived, from the projected invasion of Great Britain.

4. Count Saxe was appointed by the French king commander of the troops designed for this expedition, which amounted to 15,000 men: they began their march to Picardy, and a great number of vessels was assembled for

their embarkation at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne: it was determined that they should be landed in Kent, under convoy of a strong squadron equipped at Brest, and commanded by Monsieur de Roquefeuille, an officer of experience and capacity: the chevalier de St. George is said to have required the personal service of the duke of Ormond, who excused himself on account of his advanced age: be that as it will, prince Charles departed from Rome, about the end of December, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, attended by one servant only, and furnished with passports by cardinal Aquaviva: he travelled through Tuscany to Genoa, from whence he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked for Antibes; and, prosecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with a private audience of the French king: then he set out incognito for the coast of Picardy. The British ministry, being apprised of his arrival in France, at once comprehended the destination of the armaments prepared at Brest and Boulogne: Mr. Thompson, the English resident at Paris, received orders to make a remonstrance to the French ministry on the violation of those treaties by which the pretender to the crown of Great Britain was excluded from the territories of France; but he was given to understand, that his most christian majesty would not explain himself on that subject until the king of England should have given satisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him touching the infractions of those very treaties which had been so often violated by his orders. In the month of January, M. de Roquefeuille sailed from Brest, directing his course up the English channel with twenty ships of war: they were immediately discovered by an English cruiser, which ran into Plymouth; and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board of admiralty: Sir John Norris was forthwith ordered to take the command of the squadron at Spithead, with which he sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by some ships of the line from Chatham; and then he found himself at the head of a squadron considerably stronger than that of the enemy.

5. Several regiments marched to the southern coast of England; all governors and commanders were ordered to repair immediately to their respective posts; the forts at the mouth of the Thames and the Medway were put in a posture of defence; and directions were issued to assemble the Kentish militia, to defend the coast in case of an invasion. On the fifteenth of February, the king sent a message to

both houses of parliament, intimating the arrival of the pretender's son in France, the preparations at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the English channel: they joined in an address, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the design formed in favor of a popish pretender, and assuring his majesty that they would with the warmest zeal and unanimity take such measures as would enable him to frustrate and defeat so desperate and insolent an attempt: addresses of the same kind were presented by the city of London, both universities, the principal towns of Great Britain, the clergy, the dissenting ministers, the quakers, and almost all the corporations and communities of the kingdom: a requisition was made of the 6000 auxiliaries, which the States-General were by treaty obliged to furnish on such occasions; and these were granted with great alacrity and expedition: the earl of Stair, forgetting his wrongs, took this opportunity of offering his services to government, and was invested with the chief command of the forces in Great Britain: his example was followed by several noblemen of the first rank: the duke of Montague was permitted to raise a regiment of horse; and orders were sent to bring over 6000 of the British troops from Flanders, in case the invasion should actually take place. His majesty was, in another address from parliament, exhorted to augment his forces by sea and land; the habeas-corpus act was suspended for six months, and several persons of distinction were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices; a proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against papists and nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and every precaution was taken which seemed necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

6. Meanwhile the French court proceeded with their preparations at Boulogne and Dunkirk under the eye of the young pretender; and 7000 men were actually embarked: M. de Roquefeuille sailed up the channel as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil, with five ships, to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk: while the French admiral anchored off Dungeness, he perceived, on the twenty-fourth of February, the British fleet, under Sir John Norris, doubling the South-Foreland from the Downs; and though the wind was against him, taking the opportunity of the tide to come up and engage the French squadron. Roquefeuille, who little

expected such a visit, could not be altogether composed, considering the great superiority of his enemies; but the tide failing, the English admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues short of the enemy: in this interval, M. de Roquefeuille called a council of war, in which it was determined to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at sun-set, and make the best of their way to the place from whence they had set sail: this resolution was favored by a very hard gale of wind, which began to blow from the north-east, and carried them down the channel with incredible expedition; but the same storm, which in all probability saved their fleet from destruction, utterly disconcerted the design of invading England: a great number of their transports was driven ashore and destroyed, and the rest were so damaged that they could not be speedily repaired: the English were now masters at sea, and their coast was so well guarded, that the enterprise could not be prosecuted with any probability of success: the French generals nominated to serve in this expedition returned to Paris, and the young pretender resolved to wait a more favorable opportunity: in the mean time, he remained in Paris or that neighborhood incognito, and almost totally neglected by the court of France: finding himself in this disagreeable situation, and being visited by John Murray of Broughton, who magnified the power of his friends in Great Britain, he resolved to make some bold effort, even without the assistance of Louis, in whose sincerity he had no faith; and forthwith took proper measures to obtain exact information touching the number, inclinations, and influence of his father's adherents in England and Scotland. The French king no longer preserved any measures with the court of London; the British resident at Paris was given to understand that a declaration of war must ensue; and this was actually published on the twentieth of March: the king of Great Britain was taxed with having dissuaded the court of Vienna from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation, with having infringed the convention of Hanover, with having exercised piracy on the subjects of France, and with having blocked up the harbor of Toulon: on the thirty-first of March, a like denunciation of war against France was published at London, amidst the acclamations of the people.

7. The commons of England, in order to evince their loyalty, brought in a bill, denouncing the penalties of high-treason against those who should maintain correspondence

with the sons of the pretender [1744.] : in the upper house, lord Hardwick, the chancellor, moved that a clause should be inserted, extending the crime of treason to the posterity of the offenders during the lives of the pretender's sons : the motion, which was supported by the whole strength of the ministry, produced a warm debate, in which the duke of Bedford, the earl of Chesterfield, the lords Talbot and Hervey argued against it in the most pathetic manner, as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, the rules of common justice, and the precepts of religion ; an expedient, that would involve the innocent with the guilty, and tend to the augmentation of ministerial power, for which purpose it was undoubtedly calculated : notwithstanding these suggestions, the clause was carried in the affirmative, and the bill sent back to the commons, where the amendment was vigorously opposed by lord Strange, lord Guernsey, Mr. W. Pitt, and other members, by whom the original bill had been countenanced :⁸ the majority however declared for the amendment, and the bill obtained the royal assent. The session of parliament was closed in May, when the king told them that the French had made vast preparations on the side of the Netherlands, and that the States-General had agreed to furnish the succors stipulated by treaties.

8. By this time an action had happened in the Mediterranean between the British fleet commanded by admiral Matthews, and the combined squadrons of France and Spain, which had been for some time blocked up in the harbor of Toulon : on the ninth of February they were perceived standing out of the road, to the number of four and thirty sail : the English admiral immediately weighed from Hieres-bay, and on the eleventh part of the fleets engaged. Matthews attacked the Spanish admiral, Don Navarro, whose ship, the *Real*, was a first-rate, mounted with above 100 guns : rear-admiral Rowley singled out M. de Court, who commanded the French squadron, and a very few captains followed the example of their commanders ; but vice-admiral Lestock, with his whole division, remained at a

⁸ The opposition had sustained a heavy blow in the death of the duke of Argyle, a nobleman of shining qualifications for the senate and the field ; whose character would have been still more illustrious, had not some parts of his conduct subjected him to the suspicion of selfishness and inconstancy : he was succeeded in that title by his brother Archibald, earl of Ilay.

great distance astern ; and several captains, who were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in such a manner as reflected disgrace on their country. The whole transaction was conducted without order or deliberation : the French and Spaniards would have willingly avoided an engagement, as the British squadron was superior to them in strength and number : M. de Court therefore made the best of his way towards the Straits' mouth, probably with intention to join the Brest squadron ; but he had orders to protect the Spanish fleet ; and as they sailed heavily, he was obliged to wait for them, at the hazard of maintaining a battle with the English : thus circumstanced, he made sail and lay to by turns ; so that the British admiral could not engage them in proper order ; and, as they outsailed his ships, he began to fear they would escape him altogether, should he wait for vice-admiral Lestock, who was so far astern : under this apprehension, he made the signal for engaging, while that for the line of battle was still displayed ; and this inconsistency naturally introduced confusion. The fight was maintained with great vivacity by the few who engaged : the *Real* being quite disabled, and lying like a wreck on the water, Mr. Matthews sent a fire-ship to destroy her ; but the expedient did not take effect : the ship ordered to cover this machine did not obey the signal ; so that the captain of the fire-ship was exposed to the whole fire of the enemy : nevertheless he continued to advance until he found the vessel sinking ; and being within a few yards of the *Real*, he set fire to the fusees : the ship was immediately in flames, in the midst of which he and his lieutenant, with twelve men, perished : this was likewise the fate of the Spanish launch, which had been manned with fifty sailors, to prevent the fire-ship from running on board the *Real* : one ship of the line belonging to a Spanish squadron struck to captain Hawke, who sent a lieutenant to take possession of her : she was afterwards taken by the French squadron, but was found so disabled, that they left her deserted, and she was next day burned by order of admiral Matthews. At night the action ceased ; and the admiral found his own ship so much damaged, that he moved his flag into another : captain Cornwall fell in the engagement, after having exhibited a remarkable proof of courage and intrepidity, but the loss of men was very inconsiderable : next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and the admiral gave chase till night, when he brought to, that he might be joined by the ships astern : they were

perceived again on the thirteenth at a considerable distance, and pursued till the evening: in the morning of the fourteenth, twenty sail of them were seen distinctly, and Lestock with his division had gained ground of them considerably by noon; but admiral Matthews displayed the signal for leaving off chase, and bore away for Port Mahon, to repair the damage he had sustained: meanwhile the combined squadrons continued their course towards the coast of Spain: M. de Court, with his division, anchored in the road of Alicant; and Don Navarro sailed into the harbor of Carthagen. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accused Lestock of having misbehaved on the day of action, suspended him from his office, and sent him prisoner to England, where, in his turn, he accused his accuser. Long before the engagement, these two officers had expressed the most virulent resentment against each other: Matthews was brave, open, and undisguised; but proud, imperious, and precipitate: Lestock had signalised his courage on many occasions, and perfectly understood the whole discipline of the navy; but he was cool, cunning, and vindictive: he had been treated superciliously by Matthews, and in revenge took advantage of his errors and precipitation: to gratify this passion he betrayed the interest and glory of his country; for it is not to be doubted but that he might have come up in time to engage; and in that case the fleets of France and Spain would in all likelihood have been destroyed: but he intrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline, and saw with pleasure his antagonist expose himself to the hazard of death, ruin, and disgrace: Matthews himself, in the sequel, sacrificed his duty to his resentment, in restraining Lestock from pursuing and attacking the combined squadrons on the third day after the engagement, when they appeared disabled, and in manifest disorder; and would have fallen an easy prey, had they been vigorously attacked. One can hardly without indignation reflect on these instances, in which a community has so severely suffered from the personal animosity of individuals. The miscarriage off Toulon became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry in England: the commons, in an address to the throne, desired that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents: by this time Lestock had accused Matthews and all the captains of his division who misbehaved on the day of battle: the court-martial was constituted, and proceeded to trial: several commanders of ships were cashiered; vice-

admiral Lestock was honorably acquitted; and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy. All the world knew that Lestock kept aloof, and that Matthews rushed into the hottest part of the engagement: yet the former triumphed on his trial, and the latter narrowly escaped the sentence of death for cowardice and misconduct: such decisions are not to be accounted for, except from prejudice and faction.

9. The war in Germany, which had been almost extinguished in the last campaign, began to revive, and raged with redoubled violence: the emperor had solicited the mediation of his Britannic majesty, for compromising the differences between him and the court of Vienna: prince William of Hesse-Cassel had conferred with the king of England on this subject; and a negociation was begun at Hanau: the emperor offered to dismiss the French auxiliaries, provided the Austrians would evacuate his hereditary dominions; nay, prince William and lord Carteret, as plenipotentiaries, actually agreed to preliminaries, by which his imperial majesty engaged to renounce the alliance of France, and throw himself into the arms of the maritime powers; to resign all pretensions to the succession of the house of Austria, and to revive the vote of Bohemia in the electoral college, on condition of his being re-established in the possession of his dominions, recognised as emperor by the queen of Hungary, and accommodated with a monthly subsidy for his maintenance, as his own territories were exhausted and empoverished by the war: by a separate article, the king of Great Britain promised to furnish him with 300,000 crowns, and to interpose his good offices with the queen of Hungary, that his electoral dominions should be favorably treated. These preliminaries, though settled, were not signed: the court of Vienna was unwilling to part with their conquests in Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate: the queen trusted too much to the valor of her troops and the wealth of her allies, to listen to such terms of accommodation; and whatever arguments were used with the king of Great Britain, certain it is the negociation was dropped, on pretence that the articles were disapproved by the ministry of England: the emperor, environed with distress, renewed his application to the king of Great Britain, and even declared that he would refer his cause to the determination of the maritime powers; but all his advances were discountenanced, and the treaty of Worms dispelled all hope of accommodation. In this man-

ner did the British ministry reject the fairest opportunity that could possibly occur of terminating the war in Germany with honor and advantage, and of freeing their country from that insufferable burden of expense under which she groaned.

10. The inflexibility of the house of Austria and its chief ally proved serviceable to the emperor : the forlorn situation of this unfortunate prince excited the compassion of divers princes : they resented the insolence with which the head of the empire had been treated by the court of Vienna ; and they were alarmed at the increasing power of a family noted for pride, tyranny, and ambition : these considerations gave rise to the treaty of Frankfort, concluded in May between the emperor, the king of Prussia, the king of Sweden as landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the elector palatine : they engaged to preserve the constitution of the empire according to the treaty of Westphalia, and to support the emperor in his rank and dignity : they agreed to employ their good offices with the queen of Hungary, that she might be induced to acknowledge the emperor, to restore his hereditary dominions, and give up the archives of the empire that were in her possession : they guarantied to each other their respective territories ; the disputes about the succession of the late emperor they referred to the decision of the states of the empire ; they promised to assist one another in case of being attacked ; and they invited the king of Poland, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Liege to accede to this treaty. Such was the confederacy that broke all the measures which had been concerted between the king of Great Britain and her Hungarian majesty for the operations of the campaign : in the mean time, the French king declared war against this princess, on pretence that she was obstinately deaf to all terms of accommodation, and determined to carry the war into the territories of France : in her counter-declaration she taxed Louis with having infringed the most solemn engagement with respect to the pragmatic sanction ; with having spirited up different pretenders, to lay claim to the succession of the late emperor ; with having endeavored to instigate the common enemy of christendom against her ; and with having acted the incendiary in the north of Europe, that the czarina might be prevented from assisting the house of Austria, while his numerous armies overspread the empire and desolated her hereditary countries. These re-criminations were literally true : the houses of Bourbon and

Austria have, for many centuries, been the common disturbers and plagues of Europe.

11. The king of France, though in himself pacific and unenterprising, was stimulated by his ministry to taste the glory of conquest in the Netherlands, where he had assembled an army of 120,000 men, provided with a very formidable train of artillery: the chief command was vested in the marshal count de Saxe, who possessed great military talents, and proved to be one of the most fortunate generals of the age in which he lived. The allied forces, consisting of English, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Austrians, to the number of 70,000 effective men, were in the month of May assembled in the neighborhood of Brussels, from whence they marched towards Oudenard, and posted themselves behind the Scheldt, being unable to retard the progress of the enemy. The French monarch, attended by his favorite ladies, with all the pomp of eastern luxury, arrived at Lisle on the twelfth of the same month, and in the adjacent plain reviewed his army: the States-General, alarmed at his preparations, had, in a conference with his ambassador at the Hague, expressed their apprehensions, and entreated his most christian majesty would desist from his design of attacking their barrier: their remonstrances having proved ineffectual, they now sent a minister to wait on that monarch, to enforce their former representations, and repeat their entreaties; but no regard was paid to his request: the French king told him he was determined to prosecute the war with vigor, as his moderation hitherto had served to no other purpose but that of rendering his enemies more intractable: accordingly, his troops invested Menin, which was in seven days surrendered on capitulation: Ypres, Fort Knocque, and Furnes underwent the same fate; and on the twenty-ninth of June the king of France entered Dunkirk in triumph.

12. He had taken such precautions for the defence of Alsace, which was guarded by considerable armies under the command of Coigny and Seckendorf, that he thought he had nothing to fear from the Austrians in that quarter; besides, he had received secret assurances that the king of Prussia would declare for the emperor; so that he resolved to pursue his conquests in the Netherlands: but all his measures were defeated by the activity of prince Charles of Lorraine and his officers, who found means to pass the Rhine, and oblige the French and Bavarian generals to

retire to Lampertheim, that they might cover Strasburg : the Austrians made themselves masters of Haguenau and Saverne ; they secured the passes of Lorrain, and laid all the country of Lower Alsace under contribution. The king of France was no sooner apprised of the prince's having passed the Rhine, and penetrated into this province, than he sent off a detachment of 30,000 men from his army in Flanders to reinforce that under the marshal de Coigny ; and he himself began his journey from the Rhine, that he might in person check the progress of the enemy ; but this design was anticipated by a severe distemper that overtook him at Mentz in Lorrain : the physicians despaired of his life : the queen, with her children and all the princes of the blood, hastened from Versailles to pay the last duties to their dying sovereign, who, as a true penitent, dismissed his concubines, and began to prepare himself for death ; yet the strength of his constitution triumphed over the fever, and his recovery was celebrated all over his dominions with uncommon marks of joy and affection.

13. In the mean time the schemes of the Austrian general were frustrated by the king of Prussia, who, in the month of August, entered the electorate of Saxony at the head of a numerous army : there he declared, in a public manifesto, that his aims were only to re-establish the peace of the empire, and to support the dignity of its head : he assured the inhabitants that they might depend on his protection, in case they should remain quiet ; but threatened them with fire and sword should they presume to oppose his arms : in a rescript, addressed to his ministers at foreign courts, he accused the queen of Hungary of obstinacy, in refusing to acknowledge the emperor, and restore his hereditary dominions : he said, he had engaged in the league of Frankfort to hinder the head of the empire from being oppressed ; that he had no intention to violate the peace of Breslau, or enter as a principal into this war : he affirmed, that his design was to act as auxiliary to the emperor, and establish the quiet of Germany. He penetrated into Bohemia, and undertook the siege of Prague, the governor of which surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war on the sixteenth of September : he afterwards reduced Tabor, Bodweis, and Teyn, and in a word subdued the greatest part of the kingdom ; the Austrian forces in that country being in no condition to stop his progress : nevertheless he was soon obliged to relinquish his conquests : prince Charles of Lor-

rain was recalled from Alsace, and repassed the Rhine in the face of the French army, commanded by the marshals de Coigny, Noailles, and Belleisle: then he marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the troops under Bathiani at Meroitz. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, at this juncture declared in favor of her Hungarian majesty: a convention for the mutual guarantee of their dominions had been signed between those two powers in December; and now prince Charles of Lorraine was reinforced by 20,000 Saxon troops under the conduct of the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels. The combined army was superior to that of his Prussian majesty, whom they resolved to engage: but he retired before them; and having evacuated all the places he had garrisoned in Bohemia, retreated with precipitation into Silesia: there his troops were put into winter-quarters; and he himself returned to Berlin, extremely mortified at the issue of the campaign.

14. During these transactions, count Seckendorf marched into Bavaria, at the head of a strong army; drove the Austrians out of that electorate; and the emperor regained possession of Munich, his capital, on the twenty-second of October. In August the French army passed the Rhine at Fort Louis, and invested the strong and important city of Friburg, defended by general Demnitz, at the head of 9000 veterans: the king of France arrived in the camp on the eleventh of October, and the siege was carried on with uncommon vigor: the Austrian governor made incredible efforts in the defence of the place, which he maintained until it was reduced to a heap of ruins, and one half of the garrison destroyed: at length however they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, after the trenches had been open five and forty days, during which they had killed above 15,000 of the besiegers: with this conquest the French king closed the campaign, and his army was cantoned along the Rhine, under the inspection of the count de Maillebois. By the detachments drawn from the French army in Flanders, count Saxe had found himself considerably weaker than the confederates: he threw up strong intrenchments behind the Lys, where he remained on the defensive, until he was reinforced by the count de Clermont, who commanded a separate body on the side of Nieuport: the allies, to the number of 70,000, passed the Scheldt, and advanced towards Helchin; but the enemy being so advantageously

posted, that they could not attack him with any prospect of advantage, they filed on in sight of Tournay; and on the eighth of August encamped in the plains of Lisle, in hope of drawing count Saxe from the situation in which he was so strongly fortified: here they foraged for several days, and laid the open country under contribution: however, they made no attempt on the place itself, which in all probability would have fallen into their hands had they invested it at their first approach; for then there was no other garrison but two or three battalions of militia; but count Saxe soon threw in a considerable reinforcement. The allies were unprovided with a train of battering cannon; and their commanders would not deviate from the usual form of war: besides, they were divided in their opinions, and despised one another: general Wade, who commanded the English and Hanoverians, was a vain, weak man, without confidence, weight, or authority; and the Austrian general, the duke d'Aremberg, was a proud, rapacious glutton, devoid of talents and sentiment. After having remained for some time in sight of Lisle, and made a general forage without molestation, they retired to their former camp on the Scheldt, from whence they soon marched into winter-quarters: count Saxe at length quitted his lines; and by way of retaliation, sent out detachments to ravage the Low Countries, to the very gates of Ghent and Bruges. The conduct of the allied generals was severely censured in England, and ridiculed in France, not only in private conversation, but also on their public theatres, where it became the subject of farces and pantomimes.

15. The campaign in Italy produced divers vicissitudes of fortune: the king of Naples, having assembled an army, joined count Gages, and published a manifesto in vindication of his conduct, which was a direct violation of the neutrality he had promised to observe: he maintained, that his moderation had been undervalued by the courts of London and Vienna, that his frontiers were threatened with the calamities of war, and that the queen of Hungary made no secret of her intention to invade his dominions. This charge was not without foundation: the emissaries of the house of Austria endeavored to excite a rebellion in Naples, which prince Lobkowitz had orders to favor by an invasion: this general was encamped at Monte Rotundo in the neighborhood of Rome, when, in the month of June, the confederates advanced to Veletri. While the two armies remained in

sight of each other, prince Lobkowitz detached a strong body of forces, under count Soro and general Gorani, who made an irruption into the province of Abruzzo, and took the city of Aquila, where they distributed a manifesto, in which the queen of Hungary exhorted the Neapolitans to shake off the Spanish yoke, and submit again to the house of Austria: this step however produced little or no effect; and the Austrian detachment retired at the approach of the duke of Vieuville, with a superior number of forces. In August, count Brown, at the head of an Austrian detachment, surprised Velettri in the night; and the king of the two Sicilies, with the duke of Modena, were in the utmost danger of being taken: they escaped by a postern with great difficulty, and repaired to the quarters of count Gages, who performed the part of a great general on this occasion: he rallied the fugitives, dispelled the panic and confusion which had begun to prevail in his camp, and made a disposition for cutting off the retreat of the Austrians: count Brown, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, thought proper to secure his retreat, which he effected with great art and gallantry, carrying off a prodigious booty: 3000 Spaniards are said to have fallen in this action, and 800 men were taken, with some standards and colors: count Mariani, a Neapolitan general, was among the prisoners: the Austrians lost about 600 men, and general Novati fell into the hands of the enemy; but the exploit produced no consequence of importance. The heats of autumn proved so fatal to the Austrians, who were not accustomed to the climate, that prince Lobkowitz saw his army mouldering away, without any possibility of its being recruited; besides, the country was so drained, that he could no longer procure subsistence: impelled by these considerations, he meditated a retreat: on the eleventh of November, he decamped from Faiola, marched under the walls of Rome, passed the Tiber at Ponte Molle, formerly known by the name of Pons Milvius, which he had just time to break down behind him when the vanguard of the Spaniards and Neapolitans appeared; part of his rear-guard, however, was taken, with count Soro who commanded it, at Nocera; and his army suffered greatly by desertion: nevertheless, he continued his retreat with equal skill and expedition, passed the mountains of Gubio, and by the way of Viterbo reached the Bolognese. The pope was altogether passive: in the beginning of the campaign he had caressed Lobkowitz, and now he received

the king of the two Sicilies with marks of the warmest affection : that prince, having visited the chief curiosities of Rome, returned to Naples, leaving part of his troops under the command of count Gages.

16. Fortune likewise favored his brother Don Philip in Savoy and Piedmont : he was, early in the season, joined at Antibes by the French army, under the conduct of the prince of Conti : in the latter end of March, the combined forces passed the Var, reduced the castle of Aspremont, and entered the city of Nice without opposition : in April, they attacked the king of Sardinia, who with 20,000 men was strongly intrenched among the mountains at Villa-Franca : the action was obstinate and bloody ; but their numbers and perseverance prevailed : he was obliged to abandon his posts, and embark on board of the British squadron, which transported him and his troops to Vado. The intention of Don Philip was to penetrate through the territories of Genoa into the Milanese ; but admiral Matthews, who hovered with a strong squadron on that coast, sent a message to the republic, declaring, that should the combined army be suffered to pass through her dominions, the king of Great Britain would consider such a step as a breach of their neutrality : the senate, intimidated by this intimation, entreated the princes to desist from their design, and they resolved to choose another route : they defiled towards Piedmont, and assaulted the strong post of Chateau-Dauphiny, defended by the king of Sardinia in person : after a desperate attack, in which they lost 4000 men, the place was taken ; the garrison of Demont surrendered at discretion, and the whole country of Piedmont was laid under contribution. His Sardinian majesty was not in a condition to hazard a battle, and therefore posted himself at Saluzzes, in order to cover his capital : the combined army advanced to the strong and important town of Coni, which was invested in the beginning of September : baron Leutrum, the governor, made an obstinate defence, and the situation of the place was such as rendered the siege difficult, tedious, and bloody. The king of Sardinia, being reinforced by 10,000 Austrians under general Pallavicini, advanced to its relief, and a battle ensued : the action was maintained with great vigor on both sides till night, when his majesty finding it impracticable to force the enemy's intrenchments, retired in good order to his camp at Murasso : he afterwards found means to throw a reinforcement and supply of provi-

sions into Coni; and the heavy rains that fell at this period, not only retarded, but even dispirited the besiegers: nevertheless, the princes persisted in their design, notwithstanding a dearth of provisions and the approach of winter, till the latter end of November, when the chevalier de Soto entered the place with 600 fresh men: this incident was no sooner known, than the princes abandoned their enterprise; and leaving their sick and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmontese, marched back to Demont: having dismantled the fortifications of this place, they retreated with great precipitation to Dauphiny, and were dreadfully harassed by the Vaudois and light troops in the service of his Sardinian majesty, who now again saw himself in possession of Piedmont. The French troops were quartered in Dauphiny, but Don Philip still maintained his footing in Savoy, the inhabitants of which he fleeced without mercy.

17. After the action at Toulon, nothing of consequence was achieved by the British squadron in the Mediterranean; and indeed the naval power of Great Britain was during the summer quite inactive. In the month of June, commodore Anson returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, in which he had surrounded the terraqueous globe: we have formerly observed, that he sailed with a small squadron to the South-Sea, in order to annoy the Spanish settlements of Chili and Peru: two of his large ships, having been separated from him in a storm before he weathered Cape Horn, had put in at Rio de Janeiro, on the coast of Brasil, from whence they returned to Europe: a frigate, commanded by captain Cheap, was shipwrecked on a desolate island in the South-Sea. Mr. Anson, having undergone a dreadful tempest which dispersed his fleet, arrived at the island of Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by the Gloucester, a ship of the line, a sloop, and a pink loaded with provisions: these were the remains of his squadron: he made prize of several vessels; took and burned the little town of Payta; set sail from the coast of Mexico, for the Philippine isles; and in this passage the Gloucester was abandoned and sunk: the other vessels had been destroyed for want of men to navigate them; so that nothing now remained but the commodore's own ship, the Centurion, and that but very indifferently manned; for the crews had been horribly thinned by sickness. Incredible were the hardships and misery they sustained from the shattered condition of the ships and the scorbutic disorder, when they

reached the plentiful island of Tinian, where they were supplied with the necessary refreshments: thence they prosecuted their voyage to the river of Canton in China, where the commodore ordered the ship to be sheathed, and found means to procure a reinforcement of sailors: the chief object of his attention was the rich annual ship that sails between Acapulco in Mexico, and Manilla, one of the Philippine islands: in hopes of intercepting her, he set sail from Canton, and steered his course back to the straits of Manilla, where she actually fell into his hands, after a short but vigorous engagement: the prize was called *Neustra Signora de Cabodonga*, mounted with forty guns, manned with 600 sailors, and loaded with treasure and effects to the value of £313,000 sterling: with this windfall, he returned to Canton, from whence he proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and prosecuted his voyage to England, where he arrived in safety. Though this fortunate commander enriched himself by an occurrence that may be termed almost accidental, the British nation was not indemnified for the expense of the expedition; and the original design was intirely defeated: had the Manilla ship escaped the vigilance of the English commodore, he might have been, at his return to England, laid aside as a superannuated captain, and died in obscurity; but his great wealth invested him with considerable influence, and added lustre to his talents: he soon became the oracle which was consulted in all naval deliberations, and the king raised him to the dignity of a peerage. In July, Sir John Balchen, an admiral of approved valor and great experience, sailed from Spithead with a strong squadron, in quest of an opportunity to attack the French fleet at Brest, under the command of M. de Rochambault: in the bay of Biscay he was overtaken by a violent storm, that dispersed the ships, and drove them up the English channel: admiral Stewart, with the greater part of them, arrived at Plymouth; but Sir John Balchen's own ship, the *Victory*, which was counted the most beautiful first-rate in the world, foundered at sea; and this brave commander perished, with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to 1100 choice seamen. On the fourth of October, after the siege of Friburg, the marshal duke de Belleisle and his brother happened, in their way to Berlin, to halt at a village in the forest of Hartz, dependent on the electorate of Hanover: there they were apprehended by the bailiff of the place, and conducted as prisoners to Osterode; from whence they were

removed to Stade on the Elbe, where they embarked for England: they resided at Windsor till the following year, when they were allowed the benefit of the cartel which had been established between Great Britain and France at Frankfort, and released accordingly, after they had been treated by the British nobility with that respect and hospitality which was due to their rank and merit.⁹

18. The dissensions in the British cabinet were now ripened into another revolution in the ministry: lord Carteret, who was by this time earl Granville in consequence of his mother's death, had engrossed the royal favor so much, that the duke of Newcastle and his brother are said to have taken umbrage at his influence and greatness: he had incurred the resentment of those who were distinguished by the appellation of patriots, and intirely forfeited his popularity: the two brothers were very powerful by their parliamentary interest; they knew their own strength, and engaged in a political alliance with the leading men in the opposition against the prime minister and his measures: this coalition was dignified with the epithet of 'the broad bottom,' as if it had been established on a true constitutional foundation, comprehending individuals of every class, without distinction of party: the appellation, however, which they assumed was afterwards converted into a term of derision. Earl Granville perceiving the gathering storm, and foreseeing the impossibility of withstanding such an opposition in parliament, wisely avoided the impending danger and disgrace by a voluntary resignation of his employments: the earl of Harrington succeeded him as secretary of state: the duke of Bedford was appointed first lord of the admiralty, and the earl of Chesterfield declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland: the lords Gower and Cobham were re-established in the offices they had resigned: Mr. Lyttelton was admitted as a commissioner of the treasury; even Sir John Hynde Cotton accepted of a place at court; and Sir John Phillips sat at the board of trade and plantations, though he soon renounced this employment: this was rather a change of men than of measures, and turned out to the ease and advantage of the sovereign; for his views were no longer thwarted by an obstinate opposition in

⁹ Mr. Pope, the celebrated poet, died in the month of June: in October, the old duchess of Marlborough resigned her breath in the eighty-fifth year of her age, immensely rich, and very little regretted, either by her own family or the world in general.

parliament. The session was opened on the twenty-eighth of November in the usual manner: the commons unanimously granted about £6,500,000 for the service of the ensuing year, to be raised by the land, the malt, and the salt-taxes, the sinking-fund, and an additional duty on wines. In January the earl of Chesterfield set out for the Hague, with the character of ambassador extraordinary, to persuade, if possible, the States-General to engage heartily in the war: about the same time, a treaty of quadruple alliance was signed at Warsaw, by the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the maritime powers: this was a mutual guarantee of the dominions belonging to the contracting parties; but his Polish majesty was paid for his concurrence with an annual subsidy of £150,000, two-thirds of which were defrayed by England, and the remainder was disbursed by the United Provinces.¹⁰

19. The business of the British parliament being discussed [1745.], the session was closed in the beginning of May; and, immediately after the prorogation, the king set out for Hanover. The death of the emperor Charles VII. which happened in the month of January, had intirely changed the face of affairs in the empire, and all the princes of Germany were in commotion: the grand duke of Tuscany, consort to her Hungarian majesty, was immediately declared a candidate for the imperial crown; while his pretensions were warmly opposed by the French king and his allies: the court of Vienna, taking advantage of the late emperor's death, sent an army to invade Bavaria in the month of March, under the conduct of general Bathiani, who routed the French and palatine troops at Psiffenhoven, took possession of Rain, surrounded and disarmed 6000 Hessians in the neighborhood of Ingoldstadt, and drove the Bavarian forces out of the electorate: the young elector was obliged to abandon his capital, and retire to Augsburg, where he found himself in danger of losing all his dominions: in this emergency, he yielded to the earnest soli-

¹⁰ Robert earl of Orford, late prime minister, died in March, after having for a very short time enjoyed a pension of £4000 granted by the crown, in consideration of his past services: though he had for such a length of time directed the application of the public treasure, his circumstances were not affluent: he was liberal in his disposition; and had such a number of rapacious dependents to gratify, that little was left for his own private occasions.

citations of the empress his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle, the elector of Cologne, and of his general, count Seckendorf, who exhorted him to be reconciled to the court of Vienna. A negociation was immediately begun at Fuessen, where in April the treaty was concluded: the queen consented to recognise the imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of his father; to acknowledge his mother as empress dowager; to restore his dominions, with all the fortresses, artillery, stores, and ammunition which she had taken: on the other hand, he renounced all claim to the succession of her father, and became guarantee of the pragmatic sanction; he acknowledged the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the person of the queen; and engaged to give his voice for the grand duke at the ensuing election of a king of the Romans: until that should be determined, both parties agreed that Ingoldstadt should be garrisoned by neutral troops; and that Braunau and Schardingen, with all the country lying between the Inn and the Saltza, should remain in the queen's possession, though without prejudice to the civil government or the elector's revenue: in the mean time, he dismissed the auxiliaries that were in his pay, and they were permitted to retire without molestation.

20. The court of Vienna had now secured the votes of all the electors except those of Brandenburg and the palatinate: nevertheless, France assembled a powerful army in the neighborhood of Frankfort, in order to influence the election; but the Austrian army, commanded by the grand duke in person, marched thither from the Danube; and the prince of Conti was obliged to repass the Rhine at Nordlingen: then the great duke repaired to Frankfort, where, on the second of September, he was by a majority of voices declared king of the Romans and emperor of Germany. Meanwhile the king of Prussia had made great progress in the conquest of Silesia: the campaign began in January, when the Hungarian insurgents were obliged to retire into Moravia: in the following month the Prussian general Lehwald defeated a body of 12,000 Austrians, commanded by general Helsrich; the town of Ratisbon was taken by assault; and the king entered Silesia in May at the head of 70,000 men: prince Charles of Lorrain, being joined by the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels and 20,000 Saxons, penetrated into Silesia by the defiles of Landshut; and were attacked by his Prussian majesty in the plains of Striegau,

near Friedburg: the battle was maintained from morning till noon, when the Saxons giving way, prince Charles was obliged to retire with the loss of 12,000 men, and a great number of colors, standards, and artillery: this victory, obtained on the fourth of June, complete as it was, did not prove decisive; for, though the victor transferred the seat of the war into Bohemia, and maintained his army by raising contributions in that country, the Austrians resolved to hazard another engagement: their aim was to surprise him in his camp at Sohr, which they attacked on the thirtieth of September at daybreak; but they met with such a warm reception, that notwithstanding their repeated efforts during the space of four hours, they were repulsed with considerable damage, and retreated to Jaromire, leaving 5000 killed on the spot, besides 2000 that were taken, with many standards, and twenty pieces of cannon: the loss of this battle was in a great measure owing to the avarice of the irregulars, who having penetrated into the Prussian camp, began to pillage with great eagerness, giving the king an opportunity to rally his disordered troops and restore the battle: nevertheless, they retired with the plunder of his baggage, including his military chest, the officers of his chancery, his own secretary, and all the papers of his cabinet.

21. After this action, his Prussian majesty returned to Berlin, and breathed nothing but peace and moderation: in August he had signed a convention with the king of Great Britain, who became guarantee of his possessions in Silesia, as yielded by the treaty of Breslau; and he promised to vote for the grand duke of Tuscany at the election of an emperor: this was intended as the basis of a more general accommodation; but he now pretended to have received undoubted intelligence that the king of Poland and the queen of Hungary had agreed to invade Brandenburg with three different armies, and that for this purpose his Polish majesty had demanded of the czarina the succors stipulated by treaty between the two crowns: alarmed, or seemingly alarmed, at this information, he solicited the maritime powers to fulfil their engagements, and interpose their good offices with the court of Petersburg: yet, far from waiting for the result of these remonstrances, he made a sudden irruption into Lusatia, took possession of Gorlitz, and obliged prince Charles of Lorraine to retire before him into Bohemia; then he entered Leipsic, and laid Saxony under contribution: the king of Poland, unable to resist the torrent,

quitted his capital, and took refuge in Prague: his troops, reinforced by a body of Austrians, were defeated at Pirna on the fifteenth of December; and his Prussian majesty became master of Dresden without farther opposition. The king of Poland, thus deprived of his hereditary dominions, was fain to acquiesce in such terms as the conqueror thought proper to impose; and the treaty of Dresden was concluded under the mediation of his Britannic majesty: by this convention the king of Prussia retained all the contributions he had levied in Saxony; and was entitled to 1,000,000 German crowns, to be paid by his Polish majesty at the next fair of Leipsic: he and the elector palatine consented to acknowledge the grand duke as emperor of Germany; and this last confirmed to his Prussian majesty certain privileges *de non evocando*, which had been granted by the late emperor with regard to some territories possessed by the king of Prussia, though not belonging to the electorate of Brandenburg. Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, the Prussian troops evacuated Saxony, and the peace of Germany was restored.

22. Though the French king could not prevent the elevation of the grand duke to the imperial throne, he resolved to humble the house of Austria by making a conquest of the Netherlands: a prodigious army was there assembled, under the auspices of marshal count de Saxe; and his most christian majesty, with the dauphin, arriving in the camp, they invested the strong town of Tournay on the thirtieth of April: the Dutch garrison consisted of 8000 men, commanded by the old baron Dorth, who made a vigorous defence. The duke of Cumberland assumed the chief command of the allied army assembled at Soignies: he was assisted with the advice of the count Konigseg, an Austrian general; and the prince of Waldeck, commander of the Dutch forces: their army was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy; nevertheless, they resolved to march to the relief of Tournay: they accordingly advanced to Leuse; and on the twenty-eighth of April took post at Maulbre, in sight of the French army, which was encamped on an eminence, from the village of Antoine to a large wood beyond Vezon, having Fontenoy in their front: next day was employed by the allies in driving the enemy from some outposts, and clearing the defiles through which they were obliged to advance to the attack; while the French completed their batteries, and made the most formidable pre-

parations for their reception. On the thirtieth or April, the duke of Cumberland, having made the proper dispositions, began his march to the enemy at two o'clock in the morning; a brisk cannonade ensued; and about nine both armies were engaged: the British infantry drove the French beyond their lines; but the left wing failing in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry forbearing to advance on the flanks, they measured back their ground with some disorder, from the prodigious fire of the French batteries: they rallied, however; and returning to the charge with redoubled ardor, repulsed the enemy to their camp with great slaughter; but, being wholly unsupported by the other wing, and exposed both in front and flank to a dreadful fire, which did great execution, the duke was obliged to make the necessary dispositions for a retreat about three o'clock in the afternoon; and this was effected in tolerable order. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and the carnage on both sides was very considerable: the allies lost about 12,000 men, including a good number of officers; among these were lieutenant-general Campbell and major-general Ponsonby: the victory cost the French almost an equal number of lives, and no honor was lost by the vanquished: had the allies given battle on the preceding day, before the enemy had taken their measures and received all their reinforcements, they might have succeeded in their endeavors to relieve Tournay: although the attack was generally judged rash and precipitate, the British and Hanoverian troops fought with such intrepidity and perseverance, that if they had been properly sustained by the Dutch forces, and their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French in all likelihood would have been obliged to abandon their enterprise. The duke of Cumberland left his sick and wounded to the humanity of the victors; and, retiring to Ath, encamped in an advantageous situation at Lessines: the garrison of Tournay, though now deprived of all hope of succor, maintained the place to the twenty-first of June, when the governor obtained an honorable capitulation: after the conquest of this frontier, which was dismantled, the duke of Cumberland, apprehending the enemy had a design on Ghent, sent a detachment of 4000 men to reinforce the garrison of that city; but they fell into an ambuscade at Pas-du-mêle, and were killed or taken, except a few dragoons that escaped to Ostend: on that very night, which was the twelfth of June, Ghent was surprised by a detachment of the French army:

then they invested Ostend, which, though defended by an English garrison, and open to the sea, was, after a short siege, surrendered by capitulation on the fourteenth of August: Dendermond, Oudenard, Nieuport, and Ath underwent the same fate; while the allied army lay intrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp. The French king, having subdued the greatest part of the Austrian Netherlands, returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph.

23. The campaign in Italy was unpropitious to the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia: count Gages passed the Apennines, and entered the state of Lucca; from thence he proceeded by the eastern coast of Genoa to Lestride-Levante: the junction of the two armies was thus accomplished, and reinforced with 10,000 Genoese: meanwhile prince Lobkowitz decamped from Modena and took post at Parma; but he was soon succeeded by count Schuylenburg, and sent to command the Austrians in Bohemia. The Spaniards entered the Milanese without farther opposition: count Gages, with 30,000 men, took possession of Serravalle; and advancing towards Placentia, obliged the Austrians to retire under the cannon of Tortona; but when Don Philip, at the head of 40,000 troops, made himself master of Acqui, the king of Sardinia and the Austrian general, unable to stem the torrent, retreated behind the Tanaro: the strong citadel of Tortona was taken by the Spaniards, who likewise reduced Parma and Placentia; and, forcing the passage of the Tanaro, compelled his Sardinian majesty to take shelter on the other side of the Po: then Pavia was won by scalade; and the city of Milan submitted to the infant, though the Austrian garrison still maintained the citadel; all Piedmont, on both sides of the Po as far as Turin, was reduced, and even that capital threatened with a siege; so that by the month of October the territories belonging to the house of Austria in Italy were wholly subdued, and the king of Sardinia stripped of all his dominions; yet he continued firm and true to his engagements, and deaf to all proposals of a separate accommodation.

24. The naval transactions of Great Britain were in the course of this year remarkably spirited: in the Mediterranean, admiral Rowley had succeeded Matthews in the command; Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia, the capital of Corsica, were bombarded; several Spanish ships were taken; but he could not prevent the safe arrival

of their rich Havanna squadron at Corunna: commodore Barnet, in the East-Indies, made prize of several French ships, richly laden; and commodore Townshend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about thirty merchant ships belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed: the English privateers likewise met with uncommon success: but the most important achievement was the conquest of Louisburg on the isle of Cape Breton, in North-America; a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expense: the scheme of reducing this fortress was planned in Boston, recommended by their general assembly, and approved by his majesty, who sent instructions to commodore Warren, stationed off the Leeward Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and co-operate with the forces of New-England in this expedition: a body of 6000 men was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataquay, whose influence was extensive in that country; though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April Mr. Warren arrived at Canso with ten ships of war; and the troops of New-England being embarked in transports, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape Breton, where they landed without opposition: the enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town; and the immediate seizure of it contributed in a good measure to the success of the enterprise. While the American troops, reinforced by 800 marines, carried on their approaches by land, the squadron blocked up the place by sea in such a manner that no succors could be introduced: a French ship of the line, with some smaller vessels destined for the relief of the garrison, were intercepted and taken by the British cruisers; and, indeed, the reduction of Louisburg was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, one of the bravest and best officers in the service of England: the operations of the siege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the British marines; and the Americans, being ignorant of war, were contented to act under their directions: the town being considerably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the besiegers, and the garrison despairing of relief, the governor capitulated on the seven teenth of June, when the city of Louisburg and the isle of Cape Breton were surrendered to his Britannic majesty: the garrison and inhabitants engaged that they would not bear

arms for twelve months against Great Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ships, were transported to Rochefort: in a few days after the surrender of Louisburg, two French East-India ships, and another from Peru, laden with treasure, sailed into the harbor, on the supposition that it still belonged to France, and were taken by the English squadron.

25. The news of this conquest being transmitted to England, Mr. Pepperel was preferred to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain, and congratulatory addresses were presented to the king on the success of his majesty's arms. The possession of Cape Breton was doubtless a valuable acquisition to Great Britain: it not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalry from the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland: it freed New-England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbor; overawed the Indians of that country; and secured the possession of Acadia to the crown of Great Britain. The plan of this conquest was originally laid by Mr. Auchmuty, judge-advocate of the court of admiralty in New-England: he demonstrated, that the reduction of Cape Breton would put the English in sole possession of the fishery of North-America, which would annually return to Great Britain £2,000,000 sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations, employ many thousand families that were otherwise unserviceable to the public, increase the shipping and mariners, extend navigation, cut off all communication between France and Canada by the river St. Lawrence; so that Quebec would fall of course into the hands of the English, who might expel the French intirely from America, open a correspondence with the remote Indians, and render themselves masters of the profitable fur-trade, which was now engrossed by the enemy. The natives of New-England acquired great glory from the success of this enterprise: Britain, which had in some instances behaved like a stepmother to her own colonies, was now convinced of their importance; and treated those as brethren whom she had too long considered as aliens and rivals: circumstanced as the nation is, the legislature cannot too tenderly cherish the interests of the British plantations in America: they are inhabited by a brave, hardy, industrious people, animated with an active spirit of commerce, inspired with a noble zeal for liberty and independence: the trade of Great Britain, clogged with heavy taxes and impositions, has for some time

languished in many valuable branches: the French have undersold our cloths, and spoiled our markets in the Levant; Spain is no longer supplied as usual with the commodities of England; the exports to Germany must be considerably diminished by the misunderstanding between Great Britain and the house of Austria; consequently, her greatest resource must be in her communication with her own colonies, which consume her manufactures, and make immense returns in sugar, rum, tobacco, fish, timber, naval stores, iron, furs, drugs, rice, and indigo: the southern plantations likewise produce silk; and with due encouragement might furnish every thing that could be expected from the most fertile soil and the happiest climate: the continent of North-America, if properly cultivated, will prove an inexhaustible fund of wealth and strength to Great Britain; and perhaps it may become the last asylum of British liberty: when the nation is enslaved by domestic despotism or foreign dominion; when her substance is wasted, her spirit broken, and the laws and constitution of England are no more; then those colonies, sent off by our fathers, may receive and entertain their sons as hapless exiles and ruined refugees.

26. While the continent of Europe and the isles of America were thus exposed to the ravages of war, and subjected to such vicissitudes of fortune, Great Britain underwent a dangerous convulsion in her own bowels. The son of the chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition, and animated with the hope of ascending the throne of his ancestors, resolved to make an effort for that purpose, which, though it might not be crowned with success, should at least astonish all christendom: the jacobites in England and Scotland had promised, that if he would land in Britain at the head of a regular army, they would supply him with provisions, carriages, and horses; and a great number of them declared they would take up arms and join his standard: but they disapproved of his coming over without forces, as a dangerous enterprise, that would in all probability end in the ruin of himself and all his adherents. This advice, including an exact detail of his father's interest, with the dispositions of his particular friends in every town and county, was transmitted to London in January, in order to be forwarded to prince Charles; but the person with whom it was entrusted could find no safe means of conveyance; so that he sent it back to Scotland, from whence

it was despatched to France ; but before it reached Paris, Charles had left that kingdom : had the paper come to his hands in due time, perhaps he would not have embarked in the undertaking, though he was stimulated to the attempt by many concurring motives : certain it is, he was cajoled by the sanguine misrepresentations of a few adventurers, who hoped to profit by the expedition : they assured him that the whole nation was disaffected to the reigning family ; that the people could no longer bear the immense load of taxes, which was daily increasing ; and that the most considerable persons of the kingdom would gladly seize the first opportunity of crowding to his standard : on the other hand, he knew the British government had taken some effectual steps to alienate the friends of his house from the principles they had hitherto professed : some of them had accepted posts and pensions ; others were preferred in the army ; and the parliament were so attached to the reigning family, that he had nothing to hope from their deliberations : he expected no material succor from the court of France ; he foresaw that delay would diminish the number of his adherents in Great Britain ; and therefore resolved to seize the present occasion, which in many respects was propitious to his design. Without doubt, had he been properly supported, he could not have found a more favorable opportunity of exciting an intestine commotion in Great Britain ; for Scotland was quite unfurnished with troops ; king George was in Germany ; the duke of Cumberland, at the head of the British army, was employed in Flanders ; and great part of the highlanders were keen for insurrection : their natural principles were on this occasion stimulated by the suggestions of revenge. At the beginning of the war a regiment of those people had been formed, and transported with the rest of the British troops to Flanders : before they were embarked, a number of them deserted with their arms, on pretence that they had been decoyed into the service by promises and assurances that they should never be sent abroad ; and this was really the case : they were overtaken by a body of horse, persuaded to submit, brought back to London pinioned like malefactors, and tried for desertion : three were shot to death *in terrorem*, and the rest were sent in exile to the plantations : those who suffered were persons of some consequence in their own country ; and their fate was deeply resented by the clans to which they belonged : it was considered as a national outrage ; and the highlanders,

who are naturally vindictive, waited impatiently for an opportunity of vengeance.

27. The young pretender, being furnished with a sum of money and a supply of arms, on his private credit, without the knowledge of the French court, wrote letters to his friends in Scotland, explaining his design and situation, intimating the place where he intended to land, communicating a private signal, and assuring them he should be with them by the middle of June : these precautions being taken, he embarked on board of a small frigate at Port St. Nazaire, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John Macdonald, with a few other Irish and Scottish adventurers ; and setting sail on the fourteenth of July, was joined off Belleisle by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-six guns, as his convoy : ¹¹ their design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland ; but falling in with the Lion, an English ship of the line, a very obstinate and bloody action ensued : the Elizabeth was so disabled, that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbor of Brest ; but the Lion was shattered to such a degree, that she floated like a wreck on the water : the disaster of the Elizabeth was a great misfortune to the adventurer, as by her being disabled he lost a great quantity of arms, and about 100 able officers, who were embarked on board of her for the benefit of his expedition : had this ship arrived in Scotland, she could easily have reduced Fort William, situated in the midst of the clans attached to the Stuart family : such a conquest, by giving lustre to the prince's arms, would have allured many to his standard, who were indifferent in point of principle ; and encouraged a great number of highlanders to join him, who were restricted by the apprehension that their wives and families would be subject to insults from the English garrison of this fortress. Prince Charles, in the frigate, continued his course to the western isles of Scotland : after a voyage of eighteen days he landed on a little island between Barra and South-Uist, two of the Hebrides : then he re-embarked, and in a few days arrived at Borodale in Arnsay, on the confines of

¹¹ The Elizabeth, a king's ship, was procured as a convoy by the interest of Mr. Walsh, an Irish merchant at Nantes, and on board of her fifty French young gentlemen embarked as volunteers.

Lochnannach, where he was in a little time joined by a considerable number of hardy mountaineers, under their respective chiefs or leaders: on the nineteenth of August, the marquis of Tullibardine erected the pretender's standard at Glensinnan: some of those, however, on whom Charles principally depended, now stood aloof, either fluctuating in their principles, astonished at the boldness of the undertaking, or startled at the remonstrances of their friends, who did not fail to represent in aggravated colors all the danger of embarking in such a desperate enterprise. Had the government acted with proper vigor when they received intelligence of his arrival, the adventurer must have been crushed in embryo, before any considerable number of his adherents could have been brought together; but the lords of the regency seemed to slight the information, and even to suspect the integrity of those by whom it was conveyed: they were soon convinced of their mistake: prince Charles, having assembled about 1200 men, encamped in the neighborhood of Fort William; and immediately hostilities were commenced: a handful of Keppoch's clan, commanded by major Donald Macdonald, even before they joined the pretender, attacked two companies of new-raised soldiers, who, with their officer, were disarmed after an obstinate dispute: another captain of the king's forces, falling into their hands, was courteously dismissed with one of the pretender's manifestos, and a passport for his personal safety. The administration was now effectually alarmed: the lords of the regency issued a proclamation, offering a reward of £30,000 to any person who should apprehend the prince-adventurer: the same price was set on the head of the elector of Hanover, in a proclamation published by the pretender: a courier was despatched to Holland, to hasten the return of his majesty, who arrived in England about the latter end of August; a requisition was made of the 6000 Dutch auxiliaries, and several British regiments were recalled from the Netherlands: a loyal address was presented to the king by the city of London, and the merchants of this metropolis resolved to raise two regiments at their own expense: orders were issued to keep the trained bands in readiness; to array the militia of Westminster; and instructions to the same effect were sent to all the lords-lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom: the principal noblemen of the nation made a tender of their services to their sovereign, and some of them received commissions to levy regiments to-

wards the suppression of the rebellion : bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London and many other places ; associations were formed ; large contributions raised in different towns, counties, and communities ; and a great number of eminent merchants in London agreed to support the public credit, by receiving, as usual, bank notes in payment for the purposes of traffic : the protestant clergy of all denominations exerted themselves with extraordinary ardor in preaching against the religion of Rome and the pretender ; and the friends of the government were encouraged, animated, and confirmed in their principles by several spiritual productions published for the occasion.

28. In a word, the bulk of the nation seemed unanimously bent on opposing the enterprise of the pretender, who nevertheless had already made surprising progress : his arrival in Scotland was no sooner confirmed, than Sir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, assembled what force he could bring together, and advanced against the rebels : understanding, however, that they had taken possession of a strong pass, he changed his route, and proceeded northwards as far as Inverness, leaving the capital and the southern parts of North-Britain wholly exposed to the incursions of the enemy. The highlanders forthwith marched to Perth, where the chevalier de St. George was proclaimed king of Great Britain, and the public money seized for his use : the same steps were taken at Dundee and other places : prince Charles was joined by the nobleman who assumed the title of duke of Perth, the viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, and many persons of distinction, with their followers : the marquis of Tullibardine, who had accompanied him from France, took possession of Athol, as heir of blood to the titles and estates which his younger brother enjoyed in consequence of his attainder ; and met with some success in arming the tenants for the support of that cause which he avowed. The rebel army, being considerably augmented, though very ill provided with arms, crossed the Forth in the neighborhood of Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, where they were joined by lord Elcho, son of the earl of Wemys, and other persons of some distinction : on the sixteenth of September Charles summoned the town to surrender : the inhabitants were divided by faction and distracted by fear ; the place was not in a posture of defence, and the magistrates would not expose the people to the uncertain issue of an assault :

several deputations were sent from the town to the pretender, in order to negotiate terms of capitulation: in the mean time, one of the gates being opened for the admission of a coach, Cameron of Lochiel, one of the most powerful of the highland chiefs, rushed into the place with a party of his men, and secured it without opposition: next morning the whole rebel army entered, and their prince took possession of the royal palace of Holyrood-house in the suburbs: then he caused his father to be proclaimed at the market-cross; there also the manifesto was read, in which the chevalier de St. George declared his son Charles regent of his dominions, promised to dissolve the union, and redress the grievances of Scotland: his being in possession of the capital encouraged his followers, and added reputation to his arms; but the treasure belonging to the two banks of that kingdom had been previously conveyed into the castle, a strong fortress, with a good garrison, under the command of general Guest, an old officer of experience and capacity.

29. During these transactions, Sir John Cope marched back from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked with his troops, and on the seventeenth of September landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eastward of Edinburgh: here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired with precipitation from the capital at the approach of the highland army: with this reinforcement, his troops amounted to near 3000 men; and he began his march to Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy: on the twentieth of the month, he encamped in the neighborhood of Preston-pans, having the village of Tranent in his front and the sea in his rear: early next morning he was attacked by the young pretender, at the head of about 2400 highlanders half-armed, who charged him sword in hand with such impetuosity, that in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the dragoons fled in the utmost confusion at the first onset; the general officers, having made some unsuccessful efforts to rally them, thought proper to consult their own safety by an expeditious retreat towards Coldstream on the Tweed: all the infantry were either killed or taken; and the colors, artillery, tents, baggage, and military chest, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh: never was victory more complete, or obtained at a smaller expense; for not above fifty of the rebels lost their lives in the engagement: 500 of the king's troops were killed on the field of battle; and among these colonel Gardiner,

a gallant officer, who disdained to save his life at the expense of his honor: when abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horse, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds, in sight of his own threshold. Prince Charles bore his good fortune with moderation: he prohibited all rejoicings for the victory he had obtained; the wounded soldiers were treated with humanity; and the officers were sent into Fife and Angus, where they were left at liberty on their parole, which the greater part of them shamefully broke in the sequel: from this victory the pretender reaped manifold and important advantages: his followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated; he was supplied with a train of field-artillery, and a considerable sum of money; and saw himself possessed of all Scotland, except the fortresses, the reduction of which he could not pretend to undertake without proper implements and engineers. After the battle, he was joined by a small detachment from the highlands; and some chiefs, who had hitherto been on the reserve, began to exert their influence in his favor: but he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that consternation which his late success had diffused through the kingdom of England.

30. Charles continued to reside in the palace of Holyroodhouse,¹² and took measures for cutting off the communication between the castle and the city: general Guest declared that he would demolish the city unless the blockade should be raised, so as that provision might be carried into the castle: after having waited the return of an express which he had found means to despatch to court, he began to put his threats in execution, by firing on the town; some houses were beaten down, and several persons killed even at the market-cross. The citizens, alarmed at this disaster, sent a deputation to the prince, entreating him to raise the blockade; and he complied with their request: he levied a regiment in

¹² While he resided at Edinburgh, some of the presbyterian clergy continued to preach in the churches of that city, and publicly prayed for king George, without suffering the least punishment or molestation: one minister in particular, of the name of Mac Vicar, being solicited by some highlanders to pray for their prince, promised to comply with their request, and performed his promise in words to this effect;—‘and as for the young prince, who is come hither in quest of an earthly crown, grant, O Lord, that he may speedily receive a crown of glory.’

Edinburgh and the neighborhood : he imposed taxes ; seized the merchandise that was deposited in the king's warehouses at Leith and other places ; and compelled the city of Glasgow to accommodate him with a large sum, to be repaid when the peace of the kingdom should be re-established : the number of his followers daily increased ; and he received considerable supplies of money, artillery, and ammunition by single ships that arrived from France, where his interest seemed to rise in proportion to the success of his arms : the greater and richer part of Scotland was averse to his family and pretensions ; but the people were unarmed and undisciplined, consequently passive under his dominion : by this time, however, the prince-pretender was joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, the lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvie, Pitsligo ; and the eldest son of lord Lovat had begun to assemble his father's clan, in order to reinforce the victor, whose army lay encamped at Duddingston, in the neighborhood of Edinburgh. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were men of broken and desperate fortune ; Elcho and Ogilvie were sons to the earls of Wemys and Airlie ; so that their influence was far from being extensive ; Pitsligo was a nobleman of a very amiable character, as well as of great personal interest ; and great dependence was placed on the power and attachment of lord Lovat, who had entered into private engagements with the chevalier de St. George, though he still wore the mask of loyalty to the government, and disavowed the conduct of his son when he declared for the pretender. This old nobleman is the same Simon Fraser whom we have had occasion to mention as a partisan and emissary of the court of St. Germain in the year 1703 : he had renounced his connexions with that family ; and, in the rebellion immediately after the accession of king George I. approved himself a warm friend to the protestant succession : since that period, he had been induced, by disgust and ambition, to change his principles again, and was in secret an enthusiast in Jacobitism : he had greatly augmented his estate, and obtained a considerable interest in the highlands, where however he was rather dreaded than beloved : he was bold, enterprising, vain, arbitrary, rapacious, cruel, and deceitful ; but his character was chiefly marked by a species of low cunning and dissimulation, which, however, overshot his purpose, and contributed to his own ruin. While Charles resided at Edinburgh, the marquis de Guilles arrived at Montrose, as envoy from the French king, with several

officers, some cannon, and a considerable quantity of small arms for the use of that adventurer.¹³

31. While the young pretender endeavored to improve the advantages he had gained, the ministry of Great Britain took every possible measure to retard his progress: several powerful chiefs in the highlands were attached to the government, and exerted themselves in its defence: the duke of Argyle began to arm his vassals, but not before he had obtained the sanction of the legislature: 1200 men were raised by the earl of Sutherland; the lord Rae brought a considerable number to the field; the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of his majesty; Sir Alexander Macdonald declared for king George, and the laird of Macleod sent 2000 hardy islanders from Skye, to strengthen the same interest: these gentlemen, though supposed to be otherwise affected, were governed and directed by the advice of Duncan Forbes, president of the college of justice at Edinburgh; a man of extensive knowledge, agreeable manners, and unblemished integrity: he procured commissions for raising twenty independent companies, and some of these he bestowed on individuals who were either attached by principle, or engaged by promise, to the pretender: he acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of the reigning family, and greatly injured an opulent fortune in their service: he confirmed several chiefs who began to waver in their principles; some he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government which they had determined to oppose; others he persuaded to remain quiet, without taking any share in the present troubles: certain it is, this gentleman, by his industry and address, prevented the insurrection of 10,000 highlanders, who would otherwise have joined the pretender; and therefore he may be said to have been one great cause of that adventurer's miscarriage: the earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of highlanders; directed the conduct of the clans who had taken arms in behalf of his majesty; and by his vigilance overawed the disaffected chieftains of that country, who had not yet openly engaged in the rebellion. Immediately after

¹³ He solicited, and is said to have obtained of the chevalier de St. George, the patent of a duke, and a commission for being lord-lieutenant of all the highlands.

the defeat of Cope, 6000 Dutch troops arrived in England ;¹⁴ and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders, for the defence of the kingdom : they forthwith began their march to the north, under the command of general Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle. The parliament meeting on the sixteenth of October, his majesty gave them to understand that an unnatural rebellion had broken out in Scotland, towards the suppression of which he craved their advice and assistance : he found both houses cordial in their addresses, and zealous in their attachment to his person and government : the commons forthwith suspended the habeas-corpus act, and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices : immediately after the session was opened, the duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry : the trained bands of London were reviewed by his majesty ; the county regiments were completed ; the volunteers, in different parts of the kingdom, employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms ; and the whole English nation seemed to rise up as one man against this formidable invader. The government, being apprehensive of a descent from France, appointed admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs ; to observe the motions of the enemy by sea, especially in the harbors of Dunkirk and Boulogne ; and his cruisers took several ships laden with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the pretender in Scotland.

32. This enterprising youth, having collected about 5000 men, resolved to make an irruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the west border on the sixth of November : Carlisle was invested, and in less than three days surrendered ; the keys were delivered to him at Brampton by the mayor and aldermen on their knees : here he found a considerable quantity of arms : his father was proclaimed king of Great Britain, and himself regent, by the magistrates in their formalities. General Wade, being ap-

¹⁴ They were composed of the forces who had been in garrison at Tournay and Dendermond when those places were taken, and engaged by capitulation, that they should not perform any military function before the first of January, 1747 ; so they could not have acted in England without the infringement of a solemn treaty.

prised of his progress, decamped from Newcastle, and advanced across the country as far as Hexham, though the fields were covered with snow, and the roads almost impassable: there he received intelligence that Carlisle was reduced, and forthwith returned to his former station: in the mean time, orders were issued for assembling another army in Staffordshire, under the command of Sir John Ligonier. Prince Charles, notwithstanding this formidable opposition, determined to proceed: he had received assurances from France, that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coast of Britain, to make a diversion in his favor; and he never doubted but that he should be joined by all the English malcontents, as soon as he could penetrate into the heart of the kingdom: leaving a small garrison in the castle of Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the highland garb, at the head of his forces; and continued his route through Lancaster and Preston to Manchester, where, on the twenty-ninth of the month, he established his head-quarters: there he was joined by about 200 Englishmen, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of colonel Townley: the inhabitants seemed to receive him with marks of affection, and his arrival was celebrated by illuminations and other public rejoicings: his supposed intention was to prosecute his march by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to find a great number of adherents; but all the bridges over the river Mersey being broken down, he chose the route to Stockport, and forded the river at the head of his division, though the water rose to his middle: he passed through Macclesfield and Congleton; and on the fourth of December entered the town of Derby, in which his army was quartered, and his father proclaimed with great formality: he had now advanced within 100 miles of the capital, which was filled with terror and confusion: Wade lingered in Yorkshire; the duke of Cumberland had assumed the command of the other army assembled in the neighborhood of Lichfield: he had marched from Stafford to Stone; so that the rebels, in turning off from Ashborne to Derby, had gained a march between him and London. Had Charles proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would have been certainly joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach; yet this exploit could not have been achieved

without hazarding an engagement, and running the risk of being enclosed within three armies, each greatly superior to his own in number and artillery: orders were given for forming a camp on Finchley-common, where the king resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the earl of Stair, field-marshal and commander in chief of the forces in South-Britain: some Romish priests were apprehended; the militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march; double watches were posted at the city-gates, and signals of alarm appointed: the volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment: the practitioners of the law, headed by the judges, weavers of Spitalfields, and other communities, engaged in associations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of the government. Notwithstanding these precautions and appearances of unanimity, the trading part of the city, and those concerned in the money-corporations, were overwhelmed with fear and dejection; they reposed very little confidence in the courage or discipline of their militia and volunteers; they had received intelligence that the French were employed in making preparations at Dunkirk and Calais for a descent on England; they dreaded an insurrection of the Roman catholics and other friends of the house of Stuart; and they reflected that the highlanders, of whom by this time they had conceived a most terrible idea, were within four days' march of the capital: alarmed by these considerations, they prognosticated their own ruin in the approaching revolution; and their countenances exhibited the plainest marks of horror and despair: on the other hand, the Jacobites were elevated to an insolence of hope, which they were at no pains to conceal; while many people, who had no private property to lose, and thought no change would be for the worse, waited the issue of this crisis with the most calm indifference.

33. This state of suspense was of short duration: the young pretender found himself miserably disappointed in his expectations: he had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom, and except a few that joined him at Manchester, not a soul appeared in his behalf: one would have imagined that all the Jacobites of England had been annihilated: the Welsh took no step to excite an insurrection in his favor; the French made no attempt towards an invasion; his court was divided into factions; the highland chiefs began to

murmur, and their clans to be unruly; he saw himself with a handful of men hemmed in between two considerable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause: he knew he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, and that a defeat would be attended with the inevitable destruction of himself and all his adherents; and he had received information that his friends and officers had assembled a body of forces in the north, superior in number to those by whom he was attended: he called a council at Derby; and proposed to advance towards London: the proposal was supported by lord Nairn with great vehemence; but, after violent disputes, the majority determined that they should retreat to Scotland with all possible expedition: accordingly, they abandoned Derby on the sixth of December, early in the morning, and measured back the route by which they had advanced: on the ninth their vanguard arrived at Manchester; on the twelfth they entered Preston, and continued their march northwards: the duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when first apprised of their retreat, detached the horse and dragoons in pursuit of them; while general Wade began his march from Ferrybridge in Lancashire, with a view of intercepting them in their route; but at Wakefield he understood that they had already reached Wigan: he therefore repaired to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached general Oglethorpe, with his horse and dragoons, to join those who had been sent off from the duke's army: they pursued with such alacrity, that they overtook the rear of the rebels, with which they skirmished, in Lancashire: the militia of Cumberland and Westmorland were raised and armed by the duke's order, to harass them in their march; the bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country: nevertheless, they retreated regularly with their small train of artillery: they were overtaken at the village of Clifton, in the neighborhood of Penrith, by two regiments of dragoons: these alighted, and lined the hedges, in order to harass part of the enemy's rear-guard, commanded by lord John Murray, who, at the head of the Macphersons, attacked the dragoons sword in hand, and repulsed them with some loss: on the nineteenth of the month, the highland army reached Carlisle, where the majority of the English in the service of the pretender were left, at their own desire. Charles, having reinforced the garrison of the place,

crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, having thus accomplished one of the most surprising retreats that ever was performed : but the most remarkable circumstance of this expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves in a country abounding with plunder : no violence was offered, no outrage committed, and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine : notwithstanding the excessive cold, the hunger, and fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick, and lost a very few stragglers ; but retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemy. The duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle with his whole army on the twenty-first of December, and on the thirtieth the garrison surrendered on a sort of capitulation made with the duke of Richmond : the prisoners, amounting to about 400, were imprisoned in different jails in England, and the duke returned to London.

34. The pretender proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which last city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whose service it had raised a regiment of 900 men under the command of the earl of Home : having continued several days at Glasgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by some forces which had been assembled in his absence by lords Lewis Gordon and John Drummond, brothers to the dukes of Gordon and Perth : this last nobleman had arrived from France in November, with a small reinforcement of French and Irish, and a commission as general of these auxiliaries : he fixed his head-quarters at Perth, where he was reinforced by the earl of Cromartie and other clans, to the number of 2000 ; and he was accommodated with a small train of artillery : they had found means to surprise a sloop of war at Montrose, with the guns of which they fortified that harbor : they had received a considerable sum of money from Spain : they took possession of Dundee, Dumblane, Downcastle, and laid Fife under contribution. The earl of Loudon remained at Inverness, with about 2000 highlanders in the service of his majesty ; he convoyed provisions to Fort Augustus and Fort William ; he secured the person of lord Lovat, who still temporised ; and at length this cunning veteran accomplished his escape : the laird of Macleod, and Mr. Monro of Culcairn, being detached from Inverness towards Aberdeenshire, were surprised and

routed by lord Lewis Gordon at Inverary; and that interest seemed to preponderate in the north of Scotland: prince Charles, being joined by lord John Drummond, invested the castle of Stirling, in which general Blakeney commanded; but his people were so little used to enterprises of this kind, that they made very little progress in their operations.

35. By this time a considerable body of forces was assembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of general Hawley, who determined to relieve Stirling-castle, and advanced to Linlithgow on the thirteenth of January: next day his whole army rendezvoused at Falkirk, while the rebels were cantoned about Bannockburn: on the seventeenth of the month, they began their march in two columns to attack the king's forces, and had forded the water of Carven, within three miles of Hawley's camp, before he discovered their intention: such was his obstinacy, self-conceit, or contempt of the enemy, that he slighted the repeated intelligence he had received of their motions and design, firmly believing they durst not hazard an engagement: at length, perceiving they had occupied the rising ground to the southward of Falkirk, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and drive them from the eminence; while his infantry formed, and were drawn up in order of battle: the highlanders kept up their fire, and took aim so well, that the assailants were broken by the first volley; they retreated with precipitation, and fell in amongst the infantry, which were likewise discomposed by the wind and rain beating with great violence in their faces, wetting their powder, and disturbing their eye-sight: some of the dragoons rallied, and advanced again to the charge, with part of the infantry which had not been engaged; then the pretender marched up at the head of his corps de reserve, consisting of the regiment of lord John Drummond and the Irish piquets: these reinforcing the Camerons and the Stuarts in the front line, immediately obliged the dragoons to give way a second time; and they again disordered the foot in their retreat: they set fire to their camp, and abandoned Falkirk with their baggage and train, which last had never reached the field of battle. The rebels followed their first blow; and great part of the royal army, after one irregular discharge, turned their backs, and fled in the utmost consternation: in all probability few or none of them would have escaped, had not general Huske and brigadier Cholmondeley rallied part

of some regiments, and made a gallant stand, which favored the retreat of the rest to Falkirk, from whence they retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the rebels; but their loss of men did not exceed 300, including Sir Robert Monro, colonel Whitney, and some other officers of distinction. It was at this period, that the officers who had been taken at the battle of Preston-pans, and conveyed to Angus and Fife, finding themselves unguarded, broke their parole, and returned to Edinburgh, on pretence of their having been forcibly released by the inhabitants of those parts.¹⁵

36. General Hawley, who had boasted, that with two regiments of dragoons he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred abundance of censure for the disposition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action; but he found means to vindicate himself to the satisfaction of his sovereign: nevertheless, it was judged necessary that the army in Scotland should be commanded by a general in whom the soldiers might have some confidence, and the duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose: over and above his being beloved by the army, it was suggested, that the appearance of a prince of the blood in Scotland might have a favorable effect on the minds of the people in that kingdom; he therefore began to prepare for his northern expedition: meanwhile, the French minister at the Hague having represented to the States-General, that the auxiliaries which they had sent into Great Britain were part of the garrisons of Tournay and Dendermond, and restricted by the capitulation from bearing arms against France for a certain term, the states thought proper to recall them rather than come to an open rupture with his most christian majesty: in the room of those troops 6000 Hessians were transported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their prince, Frederic of Hesse, son-in-law to his Britannic majesty. By this time the duke of Cumberland had put himself at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two

¹⁵ Sir Peter Halket, captain Lucy Scott, lieutenants Farquharson and Cumming, with a few other gentlemen, adhered punctually to their parole, and their conduct was approved by his majesty.

regiments of dragoons, and 1200 highlanders from Argyle-shire, under the command of colonel Campbell: on the last of January, 1746, his royal highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy, who had renewed the siege of Stirling-castle, not only abandoned that enterprise, but crossed the river Forth with precipitation: their prince found great difficulty in maintaining his forces, that part of the country being quite exhausted: he hoped to be reinforced in the highlands, and to receive supplies of all kinds from France and Spain; he therefore retired by Badenoch towards Inverness, which the earl of Loudon abandoned at his approach: the fort was surrendered to him almost without opposition, and here he fixed his head-quarters: his next exploit was the siege of Fort Augustus, which he in a little time reduced. The duke of Cumberland, having secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the laird of Grant, and other persons of distinction.

37. While he remained in this place, refreshing his troops and preparing magazines, a party of the rebels surprised a detachment of Kingston's horse, and about seventy Argyle-shire highlanders, at Keith, who were either killed or taken: several advanced parties of that militia met with the same fate in different places: lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair, which was defended by Sir Andrew Agnew, until a body of Hessians marched to its relief, and obliged the rebels to retire. The prince-pretender ordered all his forces to assemble, in order to begin their march for Aberdeen, to attack the duke of Cumberland; but, in consequence of a remonstrance from the clans, who declined leaving their families at the mercy of the king's garrison in Fort William, he resolved previously to reduce that fortress, the siege of which was undertaken by brigadier Stapleton, an engineer in the French service; but the place was so vigorously maintained by captain Scot, that in the beginning of April they thought proper to relinquish the enterprise. The earl of Loudon had retired into Sutherland, and taken post at Dornock, where his quarters were beat up by a strong detachment of the rebels, commanded by the duke of Perth: a major and sixty men were taken prisoners; and the earl was obliged to take shelter in the isle of Skye. These little

checks were counterbalanced by some advantages which his majesty's arms obtained : the sloop of war, which the rebels had surprised at Montrose, was retaken in Sutherland, with a considerable sum of money and a great quantity of arms on board, which she had brought from France for the use of the pretender : in the same county, the earl of Cromartie fell into an ambuscade, and was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who likewise defeated a body of the rebels at Goldspie : this action happened on the very day which has been rendered famous by the victory obtained at Culloden.

CHAP. XX.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1746.

1. The rebels are totally defeated at Culloden—2. The duke of Cumberland takes possession of Inverness, and afterwards encamps at Fort Augustus—3. The prince-pretender escapes to France—4. Convulsion in the ministry—5. Liberality of the commons—6. Trial of the rebels. Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Lovat, and Mr. Ratcliff are beheaded on Tower-hill—7. The States-General alarmed at the progress of the French in the Netherlands—8. Count Saxe subdues all Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault—9. Reduces the strong fortress of Namur, and defeats the allied army at Raucoux—10. The French and Spaniards are compelled to abandon Piedmont and the Milanese—11. Don Philip is worsted at Codogno, and afterwards at Porto Freddo—12. The Austrians take possession of Genoa. Count Brown penetrates into Provence—13. The Genoese expel the Austrians from their city—14. Madras in the East-Indies taken by the French—15. Expedition to the coast of Bretagne, and attempt on Port l'Orient—16. Naval transactions in the West-Indies. Conferences at Breda—17. Vast supplies granted by the commons of England—18. Parliament dissolved—19. The French and allies take the field in Flanders—20. Prince of Orange elected stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the United Provinces—21. The confederates defeated at Laffeldt—22. Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom—23. The Austrians undertake the siege of Genoa, which however they abandon—24. The chevalier de Belleisle slain in the attack of Exilles—25. A French squadron defeated and taken by the admirals Anson and Warren—26. Admiral Hawke obtains another victory over the French at sea—27. Other naval transactions—28. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle—29. Compliant temper of the new parliament. Preliminaries signed—30. Preparations for the campaign in the Netherlands—31. Siege of Maestricht. Cessation of arms—32. Transactions in the East and West-Indies—33. Conclusion of the definitive treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle.

1. In the beginning of April the duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen, and on the twelfth passed the deep and rapid river Spey without opposition from the rebels, though a detachment of them appeared on the opposite side: why they did not dispute the passage is not easy to be conceived; but, indeed, from this instance of neglect and their subsequent conduct, we may conclude they were



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under a total infatuation. His royal highness proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle: the design of Charles was to march in the night from Culloden, and surprise the duke's army at daybreak; for this purpose the English camp had been reconnoitred, and on the night of the fifteenth the highland army began to march in two columns: their design was to surround the enemy, and attack them at once on all quarters; but the length of the columns embarrassed the march, so that the army was obliged to make many halts; the men had been under arms during the whole preceding night, were faint with hunger and fatigue, and many of them overpowered with sleep: some were unable to proceed; others dropped off unperceived in the dark, and the march was retarded in such a manner, that it would have been impossible to reach the duke's camp before sun-rise: the design being thus frustrated, the prince-pretender was with great reluctance prevailed on by his general officers to measure back his way to Culloden; at which place he had no sooner arrived, than great numbers of his followers dispersed in quest of provision; and many, overcome with weariness and sleep, threw themselves down on the heath, and along the park walls: their repose however was soon interrupted in a very disagreeable manner: their prince, receiving intelligence that his enemies were in full march to attack him, resolved to hazard an engagement, and ordered his troops to be formed for that purpose. On the sixteenth of April, the duke of Cumberland, having made the proper dispositions, decamped from Nairn early in the morning, and after a march of nine miles perceived the highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of 4000 men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery: the royal army, which was much more numerous, the duke immediately formed into three lines, disposed in excellent order; and about one o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began: the artillery of the rebels was ill served, and did very little execution; but that of the king's troops made dreadful havoc among the enemy: impatient of this fire, their front line advanced to the attack, and about 500 of the clans charged the duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity: one regiment was disordered by the weight of this column; but two battalions advancing from the second line, sustained the

first, and soon put a stop to their career, by a severe fire, that killed a great number: at the same time, the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyshire militia, pulled down a park wall that covered their right flank; and the cavalry falling in among the rebels sword in hand; completed their confusion: the French piquets on their left covered the retreat of the highlanders by a close and regular fire, and then retired to Inverness, where they surrendered themselves prisoners of war: an intire body of the rebels marched off the field in order, with their pipes playing, and the pretender's standard displayed; the rest were routed with great slaughter, and their prince was with reluctance prevailed on to retire: in less than thirty minutes they were totally defeated, and the field covered with the slain: the road, as far as Inverness, was strewed with dead bodies; and a great number of people, who from motives of curiosity had come to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguishing vengeance of the victors: 1200 rebels were slain or wounded on the field and in the pursuit: the earl of Kilmarnock was taken; and in a few days lord Balmerino surrendered to a country gentleman, at whose house he presented himself for this purpose. The glory of this victory was sullied by the barbarity of the soldiers: they had been provoked by their former disgraces to the most savage thirst of revenge: not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed in the heat of action, they traversed the field after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring; nay, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination, the triumph of low, illiberal minds, uninspired by sentiment, untinctured by humanity. The vanquished adventurer rode off the field, accompanied by the duke of Perth, lord Elcho, and a few horsemen; he crossed the water of Nairn, and retired to the house of a gentleman in Stratharrick, where he conferred with old lord Lovat; then he dismissed his followers, and wandered about, a wretched and solitary fugitive, among the isles and mountains for the space of five months, during which he underwent such a series of dangers, hardships, and misery, as no other person ever outlived. Thus, in one short hour, all his hope vanished, and the rebellion was intirely extinguished: one would almost imagine, the conductors of this desperate enterprise had conspired their own destruction, as they certainly neglected every step that might have contributed to their safety or success: they might have

opposed the duke of Cumberland at the passage of the Spey; they might, by proper conduct, have afterwards attacked his camp in the night with a good prospect of success: as they were greatly inferior to him in number, and weakened with hunger and fatigue, they might have retired to the hills and fastnesses, where they would have found plenty of live cattle for provision, recruited their regiments, and been joined by a strong reinforcement, which was actually in full march to their assistance: but they were distracted by dissensions and jealousies; they obeyed the dictates of despair; and wilfully devoted themselves to ruin and death. When the news of the battle arrived in England, the nation was transported with joy, and extolled the duke of Cumberland as a hero and deliverer: both houses of parliament congratulated his majesty on the auspicious event: they decreed, in the most solemn manner, their public thanks to his royal highness, which were transmitted to him by the speakers; and the commons, by bill, added £25,000 per annum to his former revenue.

2. Immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, the duke took possession of Inverness, where six and thirty deserters, convicted by a court-martial, were ordered to be executed; then he detached several parties to ravage the country: one of these apprehended the lady Mackintosh, who was sent prisoner to Inverness: they did not plunder her house, but drove away her cattle, though her husband was actually in the service of government. The castle of lord Lovat was destroyed; the French prisoners were sent to Carlisle and Penrith; Kilrnarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and his son the lord Macleod, were conveyed by sea to London; and those of an inferior rank were confined in different prisons: the marquis of Tullibardine, together with a brother of the earl of Dunmore, were seized, and transported to the Tower of London, to which the earl of Traquaire had been committed on suspicion: in a few months after the battle of Culloden, Murray, the pretender's secretary, was apprehended; and the eldest son of lord Lovat, having surrendered himself, was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh: in a word, all the jails of Great Britain, from the capital northwards, were filled with those unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crowded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner for want of necessaries, air, and exercise: some rebel chiefs escaped in two French frigates, which had

arrived on the coast of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three vessels belonging to his Britannic majesty, which they obliged to retire : others embarked on board of a ship on the coast of Buchan, and were conveyed to Norway ; from thence they travelled to Sweden. In the month of May the duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the highlands as far as Fort Augustus, where he encamped ; and sent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword : the castles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned ; every house, hut, or habitation met with the same fate without distinction ; all the cattle and provision were carried off ; the men were either shot on the mountains like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial ; the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths : one whole family was enclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast to be seen in the compass of fifty miles : all was ruin, silence, and desolation.

3. The humane reader cannot reflect on such a scene without grief and horror ; what then must have been the sensation of the fugitive prince, when he beheld these spectacles of woe, the dismal fruit of his ambition ! He was now surrounded by armed troops, that chased him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from shore to shore : sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other support but that which the poorest peasant could supply ; sometimes he was rowed in fisher-boats from isle to isle among the Hebrides, and often in sight of his pursuers : for some days he appeared in women's attire, and even passed through the midst of his enemies unknown ; but understanding his disguise was discovered, he assumed the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths, with a matted beard and squalid looks, exposed to hunger, thirst, and weariness, and in continual danger of being apprehended : he was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and many of these were in the lowest paths of fortune : they knew that a price of £30,000 was set on his head, and that by betraying him they should enjoy wealth and affluence ;

but they detested the thought of obtaining riches on such infamous terms, and ministered to his necessities with the utmost zeal and fidelity, even at the hazard of their own destruction. In the course of these peregrinations, he was more than once hemmed in by his pursuers in such a manner as seemed to preclude all possibility of escaping; yet he was never abandoned by his hope and recollection; he still found some expedient that saved him from captivity and death; and through the whole course of his distresses, maintained the most amazing equanimity and good humor: at length, a privateer of St. Maloes, hired by the young Sheridan and some other Irish adherents, arrived in Lochnanuagh; and on the twentieth of September, this unfortunate prince embarked in the habit which he wore for disguise: his eye was hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue: he was accompanied by Cameron of Lochiel and his brother, with a few other exiles: they set sail for France; and after having passed unseen, by means of a thick fog, through a British squadron commanded by admiral Lestock, and been chased by two English ships of war, arrived in safety at Roscau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it still more difficult to escape, had not the vigilance and eagerness of the government been relaxed, in consequence of a report, that he had already fallen among some persons that were slain by a volley from one of the duke's detachments.

4. Having thus explained the rise, progress, and extinction of the rebellion, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of the proceedings in parliament. The necessary steps being taken for quieting the intestine commotions of the kingdom, the two houses began to convert their attention to the affairs of the continent: on the fourteenth of January, the king repaired to the house of peers, and in a speech from the throne gave his parliament to understand that the States-General had made pressing instances for his assistance in the present conjuncture, when they were in such danger of being oppressed by the power of France in the Netherlands; that he had promised to co-operate with them towards opposing the farther progress of their enemies, and even concerted measures for that purpose: he declared it was with regret that he asked any farther aids of his people; he exhorted them to watch over the public credit, and expressed his intire dependence on their zeal and una-

nimity : he was favored with loyal addresses, couched in the warmest terms of duty and affection ; but the supplies were retarded by new convulsions in the ministry. Earl Granville had made an effort to retrieve his influence in the cabinet, and his sovereign favored his pretensions : the two brothers, who knew his aspiring genius and dreaded his superior talents, refused to admit such a colleague into the administration ; they even resolved to strengthen their party, by introducing fresh auxiliaries into the office of state : some of these were personally disagreeable to his majesty, who accordingly rejected the suit by which they were recommended : the duke of Newcastle and his brother, with all their adherents, immediately resigned their employments : earl Granville was appointed secretary of state, and resumed the reins of administration ; but, finding himself unequal to the accumulated opposition that preponderated against him ; foreseeing that he should not be able to secure the supplies in parliament ; and dreading the consequences of that confusion which his restoration had already produced, he in three days voluntarily quitted the helm, and his majesty acquiesced in the measures proposed by the opposite party : the seals were redelivered to the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Harrington ; Mr. Pelham, and all the rest who had resigned, were reinstated in their respective employments ; and offices were conferred on several individuals who had never before been in the service of the government : William Pitt, Esq. was appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, and soon promoted to the place of paymaster-general of the forces ; at the same time the king declared him a privy-counsellor : this gentleman had been originally designed for the army, in which he actually bore a commission ; but fate reserved him a more important station : in point of fortune he was barely qualified to be elected member of parliament, when he obtained a seat in the house of commons, where he soon outshone all his compatriots : he displayed a surprising extent and precision of political knowledge, an irresistible energy of argument, and such power of elocution, as struck his hearers with astonishment and admiration : it flashed like the lightning of heaven against the ministers and sons of corruption, blasting where it smote, and withering the nerves of opposition : but his more substantial praise was founded on his disinterested integrity, his incorruptible heart, his unconquerable spirit of independence, and his invariable attachment to the interest and liberty of his country.

5. The quiet of the ministry being re-established, the house of commons provided for 40,000 seamen, nearly the same number of land forces, besides fifteen regiments raised by the nobility, on account of the rebellion, and about 12,000 marines: they settled funds for the maintenance of the Dutch and Hessian troops that were in England, as well as for the subsidy to the landgrave: they granted £300,000 to the king of Sardinia; £400,000 to the queen of Hungary; £310,000 to defray the expense of 18,000 Hanoverians; about £33,000 in subsidies to the electors of Mentz and Cologne; and £500,000 in a vote of credit and confidence to his majesty. The whole charge of the current year amounted to £7,250,000, which was raised by the land and malt-taxes, annuities on the additional duties imposed on glass and spirituous liquors, a lottery, a deduction from the sinking-fund, and exchequer-bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be granted in the next session of parliament.

6. The rebellion being quelled, the legislature resolved to make examples of those who had been concerned in disturbing the peace of their country. In June, an act of attainder was passed against the principal persons who had embarked in that desperate undertaking; and courts were opened in different parts of England for the trial of the prisoners: seventeen persons who had borne arms in the rebel army were executed at Kennington-common, in the neighborhood of London, and suffered with great constancy under the dreadful tortures which their sentence prescribed: nine were put to death, in the same manner, at Carlisle; six at Brompton, seven at Penrith, eleven at York: of these a considerable number were gentlemen, and had acted as officers; about fifty had been executed as deserters in different parts of Scotland; eighty-one suffered the pains of the law as traitors; a few obtained pardons, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations. Bills of indictment for high-treason were found by the county of Surrey against the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino: these noblemen were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, the lord chancellor presiding as lord high-steward for the occasion: the two earls confessed their crimes, and in pathetic speeches recommended themselves to his majesty's mercy: lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty; he denied his having been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment, but this exception was over-ruled; then he moved a point of law in arrest of judgment, and was allowed

to be heard by his counsel: they might have expiated on the hardship of being tried by an *ex post facto* law, and claimed the privilege of trial in the county where the act of treason was said to have been committed: the same hardship was imposed on all the imprisoned rebels: they were dragged in captivity to a strange country, far from their friends and connexions, destitute of means to produce evidence in their favor even if they had been innocent of the charge: Balmerino waved this plea, and submitted to the court, which pronounced sentence of death on him and his two associates: Cromartie's life was spared; but the other two were beheaded, in the month of August, on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine personal accomplishments; he had been educated in revolution principles, and engaged in the rebellion, partly from the desperate situation of his fortune, and partly from resentment to the government, on his being deprived of a pension which he had for some time enjoyed: he was convinced of having acted criminally, and died with marks of penitence and contrition: Balmerino had been bred up to arms, and acted on principle; he was gallant, brave, rough, and resolute; he eyed the implements of death with the most careless familiarity, and seemed to triumph in his sufferings. In November, Mr. Ratcliff, the titular earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ship bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former sentence, passed against him in the year 1716: he refused to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded that he was a subject of France, honored with a commission in the service of his most christian majesty: the identity of his person being proved, a rule was made for his execution; and on the eighth of December he suffered decapitation with the most perfect composure and serenity. Lord Lovat, now turned fourscore, was impeached by the commons, and tried in Westminster-hall before the lord high-steward; John Murray, secretary to the prince-pretender, and some of his own domestics appearing against him, he was convicted of high-treason, and condemned: notwithstanding his age, infirmities, and the recollection of his conscience, which was supposed to be not altogether void of offence, he died like an old Roman, exclaiming, *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*: he surveyed the crowd with attention, examined the axe, jested with the executioner, and laid his head on the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life one would have

concluded that he had approved himself a patriot from his youth, and never deviated from the paths of virtue.

7. The flame of war on the continent did not expire at the election of an emperor, and the re-establishment of peace among the princes of the empire: on the contrary, it raged with double violence in consequence of these events; for the force that was before divided, being now united in one body, exerted itself with great vigor and rapidity. The States-General were overwhelmed with consternation: notwithstanding the pains they had taken to avoid a war, and the condescension with which they had soothed and supplicated the French monarch in repeated embassies and memorials, they saw themselves stripped of their barrier, and once more in danger of being overwhelmed by that ambitious nation: the city of Brussels had been reduced during the winter; so that the enemy were in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, except a few fortresses. Great part of the forces belonging to the republic were restricted from action by capitulations, to which they had subscribed; the States were divided in their councils between the two factions which had long subsisted; they trembled at the prospect of seeing Zealand invaded in the spring; the Orange party loudly called for an augmentation of their forces by sea and land, that they might prosecute the war with vigor; the common people, fond of novelty, dazzled by the splendor of greatness, and fully persuaded that nothing but a chief was wanting to their security, demanded the prince of Orange as a stadtholder, and even mingled menaces with their demands: the opposite faction dreaded alike the power of a stadtholder, the neighborhood of a French army, and the seditious disposition of the populace. An ambassador was sent to London with representations of the imminent dangers which threatened the republic, and he was ordered to solicit in the most pressing terms the assistance of his Britannic majesty, that the allies might have a superiority in the Netherlands by the beginning of the campaign: the king was very well disposed to comply with their request; but the rebellion in his kingdom and the dissensions in his cabinet had retarded the supplies, and embarrassed him so much, that he found it impossible to make those early preparations that were necessary to check the career of the enemy.

8. The king of France, with his general, the count de Saxe, took the field in the latter end of April, at the head of 120,000 men, and advanced towards the allies, who, to the

number of 44,000, were intrenched behind the Demer, under the conduct of the Austrian general Bathiani, who retired before them, and took post in the neighborhood of Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant. Marshal Saxe immediately invested Antwerp, which in a few days was surrendered: then he appeared before the strong town of Mons in Hainault, with an irresistible train of artillery, and an immense quantity of bombs and warlike implements: he carried on his approaches with such unabating impetuosity, that, notwithstanding a very vigorous defence, the garrison was obliged to capitulate on the twenty-seventh of June, in about eight and twenty days after the place had been invested: sieges were not now carried on by the tedious method of sapping: the French king found it much more expeditious and effectual to bring into the field a prodigious train of battering cannon, and enormous mortars, that kept up such a fire as no garrison could sustain, and discharged such an incessant hail of bombs and bullets, as in a very little time reduced to ruins the place, with all its fortifications. St. Guislain and Charleroy met with the fate of Mons and Antwerp; so that by the middle of July the French king was absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

9. Prince Charles of Lorraine had by this time assumed the command of the confederate army at Terheyde, which being reinforced by the Hessian troops from Scotland and a fresh body of Austrians under count Palfi, amounted to 87,000 men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the prince of Waldeck. The generals, supposing the next storm would fall on Namur, marched towards that place, and took post in an advantageous situation on the eighteenth of July, in sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours: here they remained till the eighth of August, when a detachment of the enemy, commanded by count Lowendahl, took possession of Huy, where he found a large magazine belonging to the confederates; and their communication with Maestricht was cut off. Marshal Saxe, on the other side, took his measures so well, that they were utterly deprived of all subsistence: then prince Charles, retiring across the Maese, abandoned Namur to the efforts of the enemy, by whom it was immediately invested: the trenches were opened on the second of September; and the garrison, consisting of 7000 Austrians, defended themselves with equal skill and resolution; but the cannonading and bombardment were so terrible, that in a few days the place

was converted into a heap of rubbish; and on the twenty-third of the month the French monarch took possession of this strong fortress, which had formerly sustained such dreadful attacks: meanwhile the allied army, encamped at Maestricht, were joined by Sir John Ligonier, with some British and Bavarian battalions; and prince Charles resolved to give the enemy battle: with this view he passed the Maese on the thirteenth of September, and advanced towards marshal Saxe, whom he found so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he thought proper to march back to Maestricht: on the twenty-sixth of September he crossed the Jaar in his retreat; and his rear was attacked by the enemy, who were repulsed: but count Saxe, being reinforced by a body of troops under the count de Clermont, determined to bring the confederates to an engagement: on the thirteenth of the month he passed the Jaar; while they took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, drew up their forces in order of battle, and made preparations for giving him a warm reception. On the first of October the enemy advanced in three columns; and a terrible cannonading began about noon: at two o'clock prince Waldeck on the left was charged with great fury; and after an obstinate defence overpowered by numbers: the villages were attacked in columns, and as one brigade was repulsed another succeeded; so that the allies were obliged to abandon these posts, and retreat towards Maestricht, with the loss of 5000 men and thirty pieces of artillery: the victory however cost the French general a much greater number of lives, and was attended with no solid advantage: Sir John Ligonier, the earls of Crawford¹⁶ and Rothes, brigadier Douglas, and

¹⁶ This nobleman, so remarkable for his courage and thirst of glory, exhibited a very extraordinary instance of presence of mind on the morning that preceded this battle. He and some volunteers, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, and attended by two orderly dragoons, had rode out before day to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy, and fell in on their advanced guards: the sergeant who commanded it immediately turned out his men, and their pieces were presented when the earl first perceived them: without betraying the least mark of disorder, he rode up to the sergeant, and assuming the character of a French general, told him in that language, that there was no occasion for such ceremony: then he asked, if they had perceived any of the enemy's parties; and being answered in the negative, 'Very well,' said he, 'be on your guard; and if you should be attacked, I will take care that you shall be sustained.' So saying, he and his company

other officers of the British troops distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct on this occasion. This action terminated the campaign: the allies, passing the Maese, took up their winter quarters in the duchies of Limburg and Luxemburg; while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered.

10. The campaign in Italy was altogether unfavorable to the French and Spaniards: the house of Austria, being no longer pressed on the side of Germany, was enabled to make the stronger efforts in this country; and the British subsidy encouraged the king of Sardinia to act with redoubled vivacity. Marshal Maillebois occupied the greater part of Piedmont with about 30,000 men; Don Philip and the count de Gages, were at the head of a greater number in the neighborhood of Milan; and the duke of Modena, with 8000, secured his own dominions: the king of Sardinia augmented his forces to 36,000; and the Austrian army, under the prince of Lichtenstein, amounted to a much greater number; so that the enemy were reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive, and retired towards Mantua. In February, baron Leutrum, the Piedmontese general, invested and took the strong fortress of Aste: he afterwards relieved the citadel of Alexandria, which the Spaniards had blocked up in the winter; reduced Casal, recovered Valencia, and obliged Maillebois to retire to the neighborhood of Genoa; on the other side, Don Philip and count Gages abandoned Milan, Pavia, and Parma, retreating before the Austrians with the utmost precipitation to Placentia, where they were joined on the third of June by the French forces under Maillebois.

11. Before this junction was effected, the Spanish general, Pignatelli, had passed the river Po in the night with a strong

retired, before the sergeant could recollect himself from the surprise occasioned by this unexpected address: in all probability he was soon sensible of his mistake; for the incident was that very day publicly mentioned in the French army: the prince of Tingray, an officer in the Austrian service, having been taken prisoner in the battle that ensued, dined with marshal count Saxe, who dismissed him on his parole, and desired he would charge himself with a facetious compliment to his old friend the earl of Crawford: he wished his lordship joy of being a French general, and said he could not help being displeased with the sergeant, as he had not procured him the honor of his lordship's company at dinner.

detachment, and beaten up the quarters of 7000 Austrians posted at Codogno: Don Philip, finding himself at the head of 52,000 men by his junction with the French general, resolved to attack the Austrians in their camp at San Lazaro, before they should be reinforced by his Sardinian majesty: accordingly, on the fourth of June in the evening, he marched with equal silence and expedition, and entered the Austrian trenches about eleven, when a desperate battle ensued: the Austrians were prepared for the attack, which they sustained with great vigor till morning; then they quitted their intrenchments, and charged the enemy in their turn with such fury, that after an obstinate resistance the combined army was broken, and retired with precipitation to Placentia, leaving on the field 15,000 men killed, wounded, and taken, together with sixty colors, and ten pieces of artillery. In a few weeks the Austrians were joined by the Piedmontese; the king of Sardinia assumed the chief command; and prince Lichtenstein being indisposed, his place was supplied by the marquis de Botta: Don Philip retired to the other side of the Po, and extended his conquests in the open country of the Milanese: the king of Sardinia called a council of war, in which it was determined that he should pass the river with a strong body of troops, in order to straiten the enemy on one side; while the marquis de Botta should march up the Tydone, to cut off their communication with Placentia: they forthwith quitted all the posts they had occupied between the Lambro and Adda, resolving to repass the Po, and retreat to Tortona: with this view they threw bridges of boats over that river, and began to pass on the ninth of August in the evening: they were attacked at Rotto Freddo by a detachment of Austrians, under general Serbelloni, who maintained the engagement till ten in the morning, when Botta arrived: the battle was renewed with redoubled rage, and lasted till four in the afternoon, when the enemy retired in great disorder to Tortona, with the loss of 8000 men, a good number of colors and standards, and eighteen pieces of cannon. This victory cost the Austrians 4000 men killed on the spot, including the gallant general Bernclau: the victors immediately summoned Placentia to surrender; and the garrison, consisting of 9000 men, were made prisoners of war: Don Philip continued his retreat, and of all his forces brought 26,000 only into the territories of Genoa.

12. The Piedmontese and Austrians rejoining in the neigh-

borhood of Pavia, advanced to Tortona, of which they took possession without resistance, while the enemy sheltered themselves under the cannon of Genoa: they did not long continue in this situation; for on the twenty-second of August they were again in motion, and retired into Provence. The court of Madrid imputing the bad success of this campaign to the misconduct of count Gages, recalled that general, and sent the marquis de las Minas to resume the command of the forces; in the mean time, the victorious confederates appeared before Genoa on the fourth of December; and the senate of that city thinking it incapable of defence, submitted to a very mortifying capitulation, by which the gates were delivered up to the Austrians, together with all their arms, artillery, and ammunition; and the city was subjected to the most cruel contributions. The marquis de Botta being left at Genoa with 16,000 men, the king of Sardinia resolved to pass the Var, and pursue the French and Spaniards into Provence; but that monarch being seized with the small-pox, the conduct of this expedition was entrusted to count Brown, an Austrian general of Irish extract, who had given repeated proofs of uncommon valor and capacity: he was on this occasion assisted by vice-admiral Medley, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterranean. The French forces had fortified the passes of the Var, under the conduct of the marshal de Belleisle, who thought proper to abandon his posts at the approach of count Brown; and this general, at the head of 50,000 men, passed the river without opposition on the ninth of November: while he advanced as far as Draguignan, laying the open country under contribution, baron Roth, with four and twenty battalions, invested Antibes, which was at the same time bombarded on the side of the sea by the British squadron: the trenches were opened on the twentieth of September; but Belleisle having assembled a numerous army, superior to that of the confederates, and the Genoese having expelled their Austrian guests, count Brown abandoned the enterprise, and repassed the Var, not without some damage from the enemy.

13. The court of Vienna, which has always patronised oppression, exacted such heavy contribution from the Genoese, and its directions were so rigorously put into execution, that the people were reduced to despair, and resolved to make a last effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence: accordingly, they took arms in secret,

seized several important posts of the city, surprised some battalions of the Austrians, surrounded others, and cut them in pieces; and, in a word, drove them out with great slaughter: the marquis de Botta acted with caution and spirit; but being overpowered by numbers, and apprehensive of the peasants in the country, who were in arms, he retreated to the pass of the Brochetta on the side of Lombardy, where he secured himself in an advantageous situation until he could receive reinforcements: the loss he had sustained at Genoa did not hinder him from reducing Savona, a seaport town belonging to that republic; and he afterwards made himself master of Gavi: the Genoese, on the contrary, exerted themselves with wonderful industry in fortifying their city, raising troops, and in taking other measures for a vigorous defence, in case they should again be insulted.

14. The naval transactions of this year reflected very little honor on the British nation. Commodore Peyton, who commanded six ships of war in the East-Indies, shamefully declined a decisive engagement with a French squadron of inferior force; and abandoned the important settlement of Madras on the coast of Coromandel, which was taken without opposition in the month of September by the French commodore, de la Bourdonnais: Fort St. David, and the other British factories in India would probably have shared the same fate, had not the enemy's naval force in that country been shattered and partly destroyed by a terrible tempest. No event of consequence happened in America, though it was a scene that seemed to promise the greatest success to the arms of England: the reduction of Cape Breton had encouraged the ministry to project the conquest of Quebec, the capital of Canada, situated on the river St. Lawrence: commissions were sent to the governors of the British colonies in North-America, empowering them to raise companies to join the armament from England; and 8000 troops were actually raised in consequence of these directions; while a powerful squadron and transports, having six regiments on board, were prepared at Portsmouth for this expedition: but their departure was postponed by unaccountable delays, until the season was judged too far advanced to risk the great ships on the boisterous coast of North-America: that the armament might not be wholly useless to the nation, it was employed in making a descent on the coast of Bretagne, on the supposition that Port l'Orient, the repository of all the stores and ships belonging

to the French East-India company, might be surprised ; or that this invasion would alarm the enemy, and, by making a diversion, facilitate the operations of the Austrian general in Provence.

15. The naval force intended for the service consisted of sixteen great ships and eight frigates, besides bomb-ketches and store ships, commanded by Richard Lestock, appointed admiral of the blue division : six battalions of land troops, with a detachment of matrosses and bombardiers, were embarked in thirty transports, under the conduct of lieutenant-general Sinclair ; and the whole fleet set sail from Plymouth on the fourteenth of September : on the twentieth the troops were landed in Quimperlay-bay, at the distance of ten miles from Port l'Orient : the militia, reinforced by some detachments from different regiments, were assembled to the number of 2000, and seemed resolved to oppose the disembarkation ; but, seeing the British troops determined to land at all events, they thought proper to retire : next day general Sinclair advanced into the country, skirmishing with the enemy in his route ; and, arriving at the village of Plemure, within half a league from Port l'Orient, summoned that place to surrender : he was visited by a deputation from the town, which offered to admit the British forces, on condition that they should be restrained from pillaging the inhabitants, and touching the magazines ; and that they should pay a just price for their provisions : these terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence ; and the English general resolved to besiege the place in form, though he had neither time, artillery, nor forces sufficient for such an enterprise : this strange resolution was owing to the declaration of the engineers, who promised to lay the place in ashes in the space of four and twenty hours : all his cannon amounted to no more than a few field-pieces ; and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the sailors dragged up from the shipping. Had he given the assault on the first night after his arrival, when the town was filled with terror and confusion, and destitute of regular troops, in all probability it would have been easily taken by scalade ; but the reduction of it was rendered impracticable by his delay : the ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ships in the harbor ; new works were raised with great industry ; the garrison was reinforced by several bodies of regular troops, and great numbers were assembling from all parts ; so that the British forces were

in danger of being surrounded in an enemy's country : notwithstanding these discouragements, they opened a small battery against the town, which was set on fire in several places by their bombs and red-hot bullets ; they likewise repulsed part of the garrison which had made a sally to destroy their works ; but their cannon producing no effect on the fortifications, the fire from the town daily increasing, the engineers owning they could not perform their promise, and admiral Lestock declaring in repeated messages that he could no longer expose the ships on an open coast at such a season of the year, general Sinclair abandoned the siege : having caused the two iron pieces of cannon and the mortars to be spiked, he retreated in good order to the sea-side, where his troops were re-embarked, having sustained very inconsiderable damage since their first landing : he expected reinforcements from England, and was resolved to wait a little longer for their arrival, in hopes of being able to annoy the enemy more effectually. In the beginning of October the fleet sailed to Quiberon-bay, where they destroyed the *Ardent*, a French ship of war of sixty-four guns ; and a detachment of the forces being landed, took possession of a fort in the peninsula ; while the little islands of Houat and Heydic were reduced by the sailors : in this situation the admiral and general continued till the seventeenth of the month, when the forts being dismantled, and the troops re-embarked, the fleets sailed from the French coast ; the admiral returned to England, and the transports with the soldiers proceeded to Ireland, where they arrived in safety.

16. This expedition, weak and frivolous as it may seem, was resented by the French nation as one of the greatest insults they had ever sustained ; and demonstrated the possibility of hurting France in her tenderest parts, by means of an armament of this nature, well-timed and vigorously conducted : indeed, nothing could be more absurd or precipitate than an attempt to distress the enemy by landing a handful of troops, without draught-horses, tents, or artillery, from a fleet of ships lying on an open beach, exposed to the uncertainty of weather in the most tempestuous season of the year, so as to render the retreat and re-embarkation altogether precarious. The British squadrons in the West-Indies performed no exploit of consequence in the course of this year : the commerce was but indifferently protected : commodore Lee, stationed off Martinico, allowed a French

fleet of merchant-ships and their convoy to pass by his squadron unmolested; and commodore Mitchel behaved scandalously in a rencontre with the French squadron, under the conduct of Monsieur de Conflans, who in his return to Europe took the *Severn*, an English ship of fifty guns: the cruisers on all sides, English, French, and Spaniards, were extremely alert; and though the English lost the greater number of ships, this difference was more than overbalanced by the superior value of the prizes taken from the enemy: in the course of this year two and twenty Spanish privateers, and sixty-six merchant-vessels, including ten register ships, fell into the hands of the British cruisers; from the French they took seven ships of war, ninety privateers, and about 300 ships of commerce. The new king of Spain being supposed well-affected to the British nation,¹⁷ an effort was made to detach him from the interest of France, by means of the marquis de Tabernega, who had formerly been his favorite, and resided many years as a refugee in England: this nobleman proceeded to Lisbon, where a negociation was set on foot with the court of Madrid; but his efforts miscarried, and the influence of the queen-mother continued to predominate in the Spanish councils. The States-General had for some years endeavored to promote a pacification by remonstrances, and even entreaties, at the court of Versailles: the French king at length discovered an inclination to peace; and in September a congress was opened at Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, Great Britain, France, and Holland were assembled; but the French were so insolent in their demands, that the conferences were soon interrupted.

17. The parliament of Great Britain meeting in November, the king exhorted them to concert with all possible expedition the proper measures for pursuing the war with vigor, that the confederate army in the Netherlands might be seasonably augmented; he likewise gave them to understand, that the

¹⁷ In the month of July, Philip, king of Spain, dying in the sixty-third year of his age, was succeeded by his eldest son Ferdinand, born of Maria Louisa Gabriela, sister to the late king of Sardinia: he espoused Donna Maria Magdalena, infanta of Portugal, but had no issue: Philip was but two days survived by his daughter, the dauphiness of France. The same month was remarkable for the death of Christiern VI. king of Denmark, succeeded by his son Frederic V. who had married the princess Louisa, youngest daughter to the king of Great Britain.

funds appropriated for the support of his civil government had for some years past fallen short of the revenue intended and granted by parliament, and said he relied on their known affection to find out some method to make good this deficiency. As all those who had conducted the opposition were now concerned in the administration, little or no objection was made to any demand or proposal of the government and its ministers: the commons, having considered the estimates, voted 40,000 seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and about 60,000 land forces, including 11,500 marines: they granted £433,000 to the empress-queen of Hungary; £300,000 to the king of Sardinia; £410,000 for the maintenance of 18,000 Hanoverian auxiliaries; £161,607 for 6000 Hessians; subsidies to the electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Bavaria; and the sum of £500,000 to enable his majesty to prosecute the war with advantage: in a word, the supplies amounted to £9,425,254; a sum almost incredible, if we consider how the kingdom had been already drained of its treasure: it was raised by the usual taxes, reinforced with new impositions on windows, carriages, and spirituous liquors, a lottery, and a loan from the sinking-fund: the new taxes were mortgaged for £4,000,000 by transferable annuities, at an interest of four, and a premium of ten per cent. By reflecting on these enormous grants, one would imagine the ministry had been determined to impoverish the nation; but, from the eagerness and expedition with which the people subscribed for the money, one would conclude that the riches of the kingdom were inexhaustible. It may not be amiss to observe, that the supplies of this year exceeded, by £2,500,000, the greatest annual sum that was raised during the reign of queen Anne, though she maintained as great a number of troops as was now in the pay of Great Britain, and her armies and fleets acquired every year fresh harvests of glory and advantage; whereas this war had proved an almost uninterrupted series of events big with disaster and dishonor: during the last two years, the naval expense of England had exceeded that of France about £5,000,000 sterling, though her fleets had not obtained one signal advantage over the enemy at sea, nor been able to protect her commerce from their depredations: she was at once a prey to her declared adversaries and professed friends: before the end of summer, she numbered among her mercenaries two empresses, five German princes, and a powerful monarch, whom she hired to assist her in trimming

the balance of Europe, in which they themselves were immediately interested, and she had no more than a secondary concern: had these fruitless subsidies been saved; had the national revenue been applied with economy to national purposes; had it been employed in liquidating gradually the public encumbrances; in augmenting the navy, improving manufactures, encouraging and securing the colonies, and extending trade and navigation; corruption would have become altogether unnecessary, and disaffection would have vanished; the people would have been eased of their burdens, and ceased to complain; commerce would have flourished, and produced such affluence, as must have raised Great Britain to the highest pinnacle of maritime power, above all rivalship or competition: she would have been dreaded by her enemies, revered by her neighbors; oppressed nations would have crept under her wings for protection; contending potentates would have appealed to her decision; and she would have shone the universal arbitress of Europe. How different is her present situation! her debts are enormous, her taxes intolerable, her people discontented, and the sinews of her government relaxed: without conduct, confidence, or concert, she engages in blundering negotiations; she involves herself rashly in foreign quarrels, and lavishes her substance with the most dangerous precipitation; she is even deserted by her wonted vigor, steadiness, and intrepidity; she grows vain, fantastical, and pusillanimous; her arms are despised by her enemies, and her councils ridiculed through all christendom.

18. The king, in order to exhibit a specimen of his desire to diminish the public expense, ordered the third and fourth troops of his life-guards to be disbanded, and reduced three regiments of horse to the quality of dragoons: the house of commons presented an address of thanks for this instance of economy, by which the annual sum of £70,000 was saved to the nation. Notwithstanding this seeming harmony between the king and the great council of the nation, his majesty resolved, with the advice of his council, to dissolve the present parliament, though the term of seven years was not yet expired since its first meeting: the ministry affected to insinuate that the States-General were unwilling to concur with his majesty in vigorous measures against France during the existence of a parliament which had undergone such a vicissitude of complexion: the allies of Great Britain, far from being suspicious of this assembly which had supplied

them so liberally, saw with concern, that, according to law, it would soon be dismissed; and they doubted whether another could be procured equally agreeable to their purposes: in order to remove this doubt, the ministry resolved to surprise the kingdom with a new election before the malcontents should be prepared to oppose the friends of the government: accordingly, when the business of the session was despatched, the king, having given the royal assent to the several acts they had prepared, dismissed them in the month of June, 1747, with an affectionate speech, that breathed nothing but tenderness and gratitude: the parliament was immediately dissolved by proclamation, and new writs were issued for convoking another. Among the laws passed in this session, was an act abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, and taking away the tenure of ward-holdings in Scotland, which were reckoned among the principal sources of those rebellions that had been excited since the revolution: in the highlands they certainly kept the common people in subjection to their chiefs, whom they implicitly followed and obeyed in all their undertakings: by this act these mountaineers were legally emancipated from slavery; but as the tenants enjoyed no leases, and were at all times liable to be ejected from their farms, they still depended on the pleasure of their lords, notwithstanding this interposition of the legislature, which granted a valuable consideration in money to every nobleman and petty baron who was thus deprived of one part of his inheritance: the forfeited estates indeed were divided into small farms, and let by the government on leases at an under value; so that those who had the good fortune to obtain such leases tasted the sweets of independence: but the highlanders in general were left in their original indigence and incapacity, at the mercy of their superiors. Had manufactures and fisheries been established in different parts of their country, they would have seen and felt the happy consequences of industry, and in a little time been effectually detached from all their slavish connexions.

19. The operations of the campaign had been concerted in the winter at the Hague between the duke of Cumberland and the States-General of the United Provinces, who were by this time generally convinced of France's design to encroach on their territories; they therefore determined to take effectual measures against that restless and ambitious neighbor: the allied powers agreed to assemble a vast army in the Netherlands; and it was resolved that the Austrians

and Piedmontese should once more penetrate into Provence : the Dutch patriots however were not roused into this exertion until all their remonstrances had failed at the court of Versailles ; until they had been urged by repeated memorials of the English ambassador, and stimulated by the immediate danger to which their country was exposed ; for France was by this time possessed of all the Austrian Netherlands, and seemed bent on penetrating into the territories of the United Provinces. In February the duke of Cumberland began to assemble the allied forces, and in the latter end of March they took the field in three separate bodies : his royal highness, with the English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, fixed his head quarters at the village of Tilburg ; the prince of Waldeck was posted with the Dutch troops at Breda ; and marshal Bathiani collected the Austrians and Bavarians in the neighborhood of Venlo : the whole army amounted to 120,000 men, who lay inactive six weeks, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and almost destitute of forage and provision. Count Saxe, by this time created marshal-general of France, continued his troops within their cantonments at Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels, declaring, that when the allied army should be weakened by sickness and mortality, he would convince the duke of Cumberland that the first duty of a general is to provide for the health and preservation of his troops : in April this fortunate commander took the field, at the head of 140,000 men ; and the count de Clermont commanded a separate body of nineteen battalions and thirty squadrons : count Lowendahl was detached on the sixteenth of the month, with 27,000 men, to invade Dutch Flanders ; at the same time, the French minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the States, intimating that his master was obliged to take this step by the necessity of war ; but that his troops should observe the strictest discipline, without interfering with the religion, government, or commerce of the republic : he likewise declared, that the countries and places of which he might be obliged to take possession should be detained no otherwise than as a pledge, to be restored as soon as the United Provinces should give convincing proofs that they would no longer furnish the enemies of France with succors.

20. While the States deliberated on this declaration, count Lowendahl entered Dutch Brabant, and invested the town and fortress of Sluys, the garrison of which surrendered themselves prisoners of war on the nineteenth of April : this

was likewise the fate of Sas-van-Ghent; while the marquis de Contades, with another detachment, reduced the forts Perle and Leifkenshoek, with the town of Philippine, even within hearing of the confederate army: the fort of Sanburg was vigorously defended by two English battalions; but they were overpowered, and obliged to retire to Welsthoorden; and count Lowendahl undertook the siege of Hulst, which was shamefully surrendered by La Roque, the Dutch governor, though he knew that a reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief: then the French general took possession of Axel and Terneuse, and began to prepare flat-bottomed boats for a descent on the island of Zealand. The Dutch people were now struck with consternation: they saw the enemy at their doors, and owed their immediate preservation to the British squadron stationed at the Swin, under the command of commodore Mitchel,¹⁸ who, by means of his sloops, tenders, and small craft, took such measures as defeated the intention of Lowendahl. The common people in Zealand, being reduced to despair, began to clamor loudly against their governors, as if they had not taken the proper measures for their security: the friends of the prince of Orange did not neglect this opportunity of promoting his interest: they encouraged their discontent, and exaggerated the danger; they reminded them of the year 1672, when the French king was at the gates of Amsterdam, and the republic was saved by the choice of a stadtholder: they exhorted them to turn their eyes on the descendant of those heroes who had established the liberty and independence of the United Provinces; they extolled his virtue and ability; his generosity, his justice, his unshaken love to his country: the people in several towns, inflamed by such representations to tumult and sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder: he himself, in a letter to the states of Zealand, offered his services for the defence of the province: on the twenty-eighth of April he was nominated captain-general and admiral of Zealand: their example was followed by Rotterdam and the whole province of Holland; and on the second of May, the prince of Orange was, in the assembly of the States-General, invested with the power and dignity of stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the United Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this resolution

¹⁸ Not the person who commanded in the West-Indies.

immediately appeared : all commerce and contracts with the French were prohibited ; the peasants were armed and exercised ; a resolution passed for making a considerable augmentation of the army ; a council of war was established for inquiring into the conduct of the governors who had given up the frontier places ; and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French, both by sea and land.

21. Meanwhile, the duke of Cumberland took post with his whole army between the two Netbes, to cover Bergen-op-Zoom and Maestricht ; and marshal Saxe called in his detachments, with a view to hazard a general engagement : in the latter end of May, the French king arrived at Brussels ; and his general resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht : for this purpose he advanced towards Louvain ; and the confederates, perceiving his drift, began their march to take post between the town and the enemy : on the twentieth of June they took possession of their ground, and were drawn up in order of battle, with their right at Bilsen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maestricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Laffeldt, in which they posted several battalions of British infantry : the French had taken possession of the heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the allies ; and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening : in the morning, the enemy's infantry marched down the hill, in a prodigious column, and attacked the village of Laffeldt, which was well fortified, and defended with amazing obstinacy. The assailants suffered terribly in their approach from the cannon of the confederates, which was served with surprising dexterity and success ; and they met with such a warm reception from the British musketry as they could not withstand ; but when they were broken and dispersed, fresh brigades succeeded with astonishing perseverance : the confederates were driven out of the village ; yet being sustained by three regiments, they measured back their ground, and repulsed the enemy with great slaughter : nevertheless, count Saxe continued pouring in other battalions, and the French regained and maintained their footing in the village, after it had been three times lost and carried : the action was chiefly confined to this post, where the field exhibited a horrible scene of carnage. At noon the duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance against the enemy, whose infantry gave way : prince Waldeck led up the centre ; marshal Bathiani made a motion with the right wing towards

Herdeeren, and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates, when the fortune of the day took a sudden turn to their prejudice : several squadrons of Dutch horse, posted in the centre, gave way, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reserve : the French cavalry charged them with great impetuosity, increasing the confusion that was already produced, and penetrating through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the centre. The duke of Cumberland, who exerted himself with equal courage and activity in attempting to remedy this disorder, was in danger of being taken ; and the defeat would in all probability have been total, had not Sir John Ligonier taken the resolution of sacrificing himself and a part of the troops to the safety of the army : at the head of three British regiments of dragoons and some squadrons of imperial horse, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry with such intrepidity and success that he overthrew all that opposed him, and made such a diversion as enabled the duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maestricht : he himself was taken by a French carabineer, after his horse had been killed ; but the regiments he commanded retired with deliberation : the confederates retreated to Maestricht, without having sustained much damage from the pursuit, and even brought off all their artillery, except sixteen pieces of cannon : their loss did not exceed 6000 men killed and taken, whereas the French general purchased the victory at a much greater expense. The common cause of the confederate powers is said to have suffered from the pride and ignorance of their generals : on the eve of the battle, when the detachment of the count de Clermont appeared on the hill of Herdeeren, marshal Bathiani asked permission of the commander in chief to attack them before they should be reinforced, declaring he would answer for the success of the enterprise : no regard was paid to this proposal ; but the superior asked, in his turn, where the marshal would be in case he should be wanted : he replied, ‘ I shall always be found at the head of my troops,’ and retired in disgust : the subsequent disposition has likewise been blamed, inasmuch as not above one half of the army could act, while the enemy exerted their whole force.

22. The confederates passed the Maese, and encamped in the duchy of Limburg, so as to cover Maestricht ; while the French king remained with his army in the neighborhood of

Tongres. Marshal Saxe, having amused the allies with marches and countermarches, at length detached count Lowendahl with 36,000 men to besiege Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, the favorite work of the famous engineer Coehorn, never conquered, and generally esteemed invincible: it was secured with a garrison of 3000 men, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines: the enemy appeared before it on the twelfth of July, and summoned the governor to surrender: the prince of Saxe Hildburghausen was sent to its relief, with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons of the troops that could be most conveniently assembled: he entered the lines of Bergen-op-Zoom, where he remained in expectation of a strong reinforcement from the confederate army; and the old baron Cronstrom, whom the stadtholder had appointed governor of Brabant, assumed the command of the garrison: the besiegers carried on their operations with great vivacity, and the troops in the town defended it with equal vigor. The eyes of all Europe were turned on this important siege: count Lowendahl received divers reinforcements; and a considerable body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of baron Schwartzenburg, to co-operate with the prince of Saxe Hildburghausen: the French general lost a great number of men by the close and continual fire of the besieged; while he, in his turn, opened such a number of batteries, and plied them so warmly, that the defences began to give way. From the sixteenth of July to the fifteenth of September the siege produced an unintermitting scene of horror and destruction; desperate sallies were made, and mines sprung with the most dreadful effects; the works began to be shattered; the town was laid in ashes; the trenches were filled with carnage; nothing was seen but fire and smoke, nothing heard but one continued roar of bombs and cannon: but still the damage fell chiefly on the besiegers, who were slain in heaps; while the garrison suffered very little, and could be occasionally relieved or reinforced from the lines: in a word, it was generally believed that count Lowendahl would be baffled in his endeavors, and by this belief the governor of Bergen-op-Zoom seems to have been lulled into a blind security: at length, some considerable breaches were made in one ravelin and two bastions, and these the French general resolved to storm, though Cronstrom believed they were impracticable; and on that supposition presumed that the enemy would not attempt an

assault: for this very reason count Lowendahl resolved to hazard the attack before the preparations should be made for his reception: he accordingly regulated his dispositions, and at four o'clock in the morning on the sixteenth of September, the signal was made for the assault: a prodigious quantity of bombs being thrown into the ravelin, his troops threw themselves into the fossé, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and entered the place, almost without resistance: in a word, they had time to extend themselves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garrison could be assembled: Cronstrom was asleep, and the soldiers on duty had been surprised by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack. Though the French had taken possession of the ramparts, they did not gain the town without opposition: two battalions of the Scottish troops in the pay of the States-General were assembled in the market-place, and attacked them with such fury, that they were driven from street to street; until fresh reinforcements arriving, compelled the Scots to retreat in their turn; yet they disputed every inch of ground, and fought until two-thirds of them were killed on the spot: then they brought off the old governor, abandoning the town to the enemy; the troops that were encamped in the lines retreating with great precipitation, all the forts in the neighborhood immediately surrendered to the victors, who now became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. The French king was no sooner informed of Lowendahl's success, than he promoted him to the rank of marshal of France, appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, and returned in triumph to Versailles: in a little time after this transaction, both armies were distributed into winter-quarters, and the duke of Cumberland embarked for England.

23. In Italy, the French arms did not triumph with equal success, though the marshal de Belleisle saw himself at the head of a powerful army in Provence: in April he passed the Var without opposition, and took possession of Nice: he met with little or no resistance in reducing Montalban, Villa-Franca, and Ventimiglia; while general Brown, with 28,000 Austrians, retired towards Final and Savona: in the meantime, another large body, under count Schuylemburg, who had succeeded the marquis de Botta, co-operated with 15,000 Piedmontese in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa: the French king had sent their supplies, succors, and engineers, with the duke de Boufflers, as ambassador to

the republic, who likewise acted as commander in chief of the forces employed for its defence : the Austrian general assembled his troops in the Milanese : having forced the passage of the Bochetta on the thirteenth of January, he advanced into the territories of Genoa, and the Rivera was ravaged without mercy : on the last day of March he appeared before the city, at the head of 40,000 men, and summoned the revolvers to lay down their arms : the answer he received was, that the republic had 54,000 men in arms, 260 cannon, thirty-four mortars, with abundance of ammunition and provision ; that they would defend their liberty with their last blood, and be buried in the ruins of their capital rather than submit to the clemency of the court of Vienna, except by an honorable capitulation, guarantied by the kings of Great Britain and Sardinia, the republic of Venice, and the United Provinces. In the beginning of May, Genoa was invested on all sides ; a furious sally was made by the duke de Boufflers, who drove the besiegers from their posts ; but the Austrians rallying, he was repulsed in his turn, with the loss of 700 men : general Schuylenburg carried on his operations with such skill, vigor, and intrepidity, that he made himself master of the suburbs of Bisagno ; and in all probability would have reduced the city, had he not been obliged to desist, in consequence of the repeated remonstrances made by the king of Sardinia and count Brown, who represented the necessity of his abandoning his enterprise, and drawing off his army, to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the efforts of marshal de Belleisle : accordingly, he raised the siege on the tenth of June, and returned into the Milanese, in order to join his Sardinian majesty ; while the Genoese made an irruption into the Parmesan and Placentin, where they committed terrible outrages, in revenge for the mischiefs they had undergone.

24. While the marshal de Belleisle remained at Ventimiglia, his brother, at the head of 34,000 French and Spaniards, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont : on the sixth of July he arrived at the pass of Exilles, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Dauphiny, situated on the north side of the river Doria : the defence of this important post the king of Sardinia had committed to the care of the count de Brigueras, who formed an encampment behind the lines with fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians, while divers detachments were posted along all the passes of

the Alps : on the eighth of the month the Piedmontese intrenchments were attacked by the chevalier de Belleisle with incredible intrepidity ; but the columns were repulsed with great loss in three successive attacks : impatient of this obstinate opposition, and determined not to survive a miscarriage, this impetuous general seized a pair of colors ; and advancing at the head of his troops, through a prodigious fire, pitched them with his own hand on the enemy's intrenchments : at that instant he fell dead, having received two musket balls and the thrust of a bayonet in his body : the assailants were so much dispirited by the death of their commander, that they forthwith gave way, and retreated with precipitation towards Sestieres, having lost near 5000 men in the attack. The marshal was no sooner informed of his brother's misfortune, than he retreated towards the Var, to join the troops from Exilles ; while the king of Sardinia, having assembled an army of 70,000 men, threatened Dauphiny with an invasion ; but the excessive rains prevented the execution of his design : general Leutrum was detached with twenty battalions, to drive the French from Ventimiglia ; but Belleisle marching back, that scheme was likewise frustrated ; and thus ended the campaign.

25. In this manner was the French king baffled in his projects on Italy, nor was he more fortunate in his naval operations : he had, in the preceding year, equipped an expensive armament, under the command of the duke d'Anville, for the recovery of Cape Breton ; but it was rendered ineffectual by storms, distempers, and the death of the commander : not yet discouraged by these disasters, he resolved to renew his efforts against the British colonies in North-America, and their settlements in the East-Indies : for these purposes two squadrons were prepared at Brest, one to be commanded by the commodore de la Jonquière ; and the other destined for India, by Monsieur de St. George. The ministry of Great Britain, being apprised of these measures, resolved to intercept both squadrons, which were to set sail together : for this purpose vice-admiral Anson and rear-admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth with a formidable fleet, and steered their course to Cape Finisterre on the coast of Gallicia : on the third day of May they fell in with the French squadrons, commanded by La Jonquière and St. George, consisting of six large ships of war, as many frigates, and four armed vessels equipped by their East-India company, having under their convoy about thirty ships laden

with merchandise: those prepared for war immediately shortened sail, and formed a line of battle; while the rest, under the protection of the six frigates, proceeded on their voyage with all the sail they could carry: the British squadron was likewise drawn up in line of battle; but Mr. Warren, perceiving that the enemy began to sheer off now their convoy was at a considerable distance, advised Admiral Anson to haul in the signal for the line, and hoist another for giving chase and engaging; otherwise the French would in all probability escape by favor of the night: the proposal was embraced; and in a little time the engagement began with great fury about four o'clock in the afternoon: the enemy sustained the battle with equal conduct and valor, until they were overpowered by numbers, and then they struck their colors: the admiral detached three ships in pursuit of the convoy, nine sail of which were taken; but the rest were saved by the intervening darkness. About 700 of the French were killed and wounded in this action: the English lost about 500; and among these captain Grenville, commander of the ship *Defiance*: he was nephew to the lord viscount Cobham, a youth of the most amiable character and promising genius, animated with the noblest sentiments of honor and patriotism: eager in the pursuit of glory, he rushed into the midst of the battle, where both his legs were cut off by a cannon-ball: he submitted to his fate with the most heroic resignation, and died universally lamented and beloved. The success of the British arms in this engagement was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage of the rear-admiral: a considerable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which was brought to Spithead in triumph; and the treasure being landed, was conveyed in twenty waggons to the Bank of London: admiral Anson was ennobled, and Mr. Warren honored with the order of the Bath.

26. About the middle of June, commodore Fox, with six ships of war, cruising in the latitude of Cape Ortegal in Galicia, took above forty French ships, richly laden from St. Domingo, after they had been abandoned by their convoy: but the French king sustained another more important loss at sea in the month of October: rear-admiral Hawke sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchant-ships bound for the West-Indies: he cruised for some time on the coast of Bretagne; and at length the French fleet

sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by M. de l'Etendeur: on the fourteenth of October the two squadrons were in sight of each other, in the latitude of Belleisle: the French commodore immediately ordered one of his great ships and the frigates to proceed with the trading ships, while he formed the line of battle, and waited the attack: at eleven in the forenoon admiral Hawke displayed the signal to chase, and in half an hour both fleets were engaged: the battle lasted till night, when all the French squadron, except the Intrepide and Tonant, had struck to the English flag: these two capital ships escaped in the dark, and returned to Brest in a shattered condition: the French captains sustained the unequal fight with uncommon bravery and resolution, and did not yield until their ships were disabled: their loss in men amounted to 800: the number of English killed in this engagement did not exceed 200, including captain Saumarez, a gallant officer, who had served under lord Anson in his expedition to the Pacific ocean: indeed, it must be owned, for the honor of that nobleman, that all the officers formed under his example, and raised by his influence, approved themselves in all respects worthy of the commands to which they were preferred. Immediately after the action, admiral Hawke despatched a sloop to commodore Legge, whose squadron was stationed at the Leeward Islands, with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant-ships outward-bound, that he might take the proper measures for intercepting them in their passage to Martinique and the other French islands: in consequence of this advice, he redoubled his vigilance, and a good number of them fell into his hands: admiral Hawke conducted his prizes to Spithead; and in his letter to the board of admiralty declared that all his captains behaved like men of honor during the engagement, except Mr. Fox, whose conduct he desired might be subjected to an inquiry: that gentleman was accordingly tried by a court-martial, and suspended from his command, for having followed the advice of his officers, contrary to his own better judgment; but he was soon restored, and afterwards promoted to the rank of admiral; while Mr. Matthews, whose courage never incurred suspicion, still labored under a suspension for that which had been successfully practised in both these late actions; namely, engaging the enemy without any regard to the line of battle.

27. In the Mediterranean, vice-admiral Medley blocked up

the Spanish squadron in Carthagena; assisted the Austrian general on the coast of Villa-Franca; and intercepted some of the succors sent from France to the assistance of the Genoese: at his death, which happened in the beginning of August, the command of that squadron devolved on rear-admiral Byng, who proceeded on the same plan of operation. In the summer, two British ships of war, having under their convoy a fleet of merchant-ships bound to North-America, fell in with the *Glorioso*, a Spanish ship of eighty guns, in the latitude of the Western isles: she had sailed from the Havanna with an immense treasure on board, and must have fallen a prize to the English ships, had each captain done his duty: captain Erskine, in the *Warwick*, of sixty guns, attacked her with great intrepidity, and fought until his ship was intirely disabled; but being unsustained by his consort, he was obliged to haul off, and the *Glorioso* arrived in safety at Ferrol: there the silver was landed, and she proceeded on her voyage to Cadiz, which however she did not reach: she was encountered by the *Dartmouth*, a British frigate of forty guns, commanded by captain Hamilton, a gallant youth, who, notwithstanding the inequality of force, engaged her without hesitation; but in the heat of the action, his ship being set on fire by accident, was blown up, and he perished with all his crew, except a midshipman and ten or eleven sailors, who were taken up alive by a privateer that happened to be in sight: favorable as this accident may seem to the *Glorioso*, she did not escape: an English ship of eighty guns, under the command of captain Buckle, came up, and obliged the Spaniards to surrender, after a short but vigorous engagement. Commodore Griffin had been sent, with a reinforcement of ships, to assume the command of the squadron in the East-Indies; and although his arrival secured Fort St. David and the other British settlements in that country from the insults of M. de la Bourdonnais, his strength was not sufficient to enable him to undertake any enterprise of importance against the enemy: the ministry of England therefore resolved to equip a fresh armament, that, when joined by the ships in India, should be in a condition to besiege Pondicherry, the principal settlement belonging to the French on the coast of Coromandel: for this service, a good number of independent companies was raised, and set sail, in the sequel, with a strong squadron under the conduct of rear-admiral Boscawen, an officer of unquestioned valor and capacity.

In the course of this year, the British cruisers were so alert and successful, that they took 644 prizes from the French and Spaniards; whereas the loss of Great Britain in the same time did not exceed 550.

28. All the belligerent powers were by this time heartily tired of a war which had consumed an immensity of treasure, had been productive of so much mischief, and in the events of which all in their turns had found themselves disappointed: immediately after the battle of Laffeldt, the king of France had, in a personal conversation with Sir John Ligonier, expressed his desire of a pacification; and afterwards his minister at the Hague presented a declaration on the same subject to the deputies of the States-General: the signal success of the British arms at sea confirmed him in these sentiments, which were likewise reinforced by a variety of other considerations: his finances were almost exhausted; and his supplies from the Spanish West-Indies rendered so precarious by the vigilance of the British cruisers, that he could no longer depend on their arrival: the trading part of his subjects had sustained such losses, that his kingdom was filled with bankruptcies; and the best part of the navy now contributed to strengthen the fleets of his enemies: the election of a stadtholder had united the whole power of the States-General against him, in taking the most resolute measures for their own safety; his views in Germany were intirely frustrated by the elevation of the grand duke to the imperial throne, and the re-establishment of peace between the houses of Austria and Brandenburg; the success of his arms in Italy had not at all answered his expectation; and Genoa was become an expensive ally: he had the mortification to see the commerce of Britain flourish in the midst of war, while his own people were utterly impoverished: the parliament of England granted, and the nation paid such incredible sums, as enabled their sovereign not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewise to give subsidies to all the powers of Europe: he knew that a treaty of this kind was actually on the anvil between his Britannic majesty and the czarina, and he began to be apprehensive of seeing an army of Russians in the Netherlands. His fears from this quarter were not without foundation: in the month of November, the earl of Hyndford, ambassador from the king of Great Britain at the court of Russia, concluded a treaty of subsidy, by which the czarina engaged to hold in readiness

30,000 men and forty galleys, to be employed in the service of the confederates on the first requisition: the States-General acceded to this agreement, and even consented to pay one-fourth of the subsidy. His most christian majesty, moved by these considerations, made farther advances towards an accommodation both at the Hague and in London; and the contending powers agreed to another congress, which was actually opened in March at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great Britain.

29. The elections for the new parliament in England had been conducted so as fully to answer the purposes of the duke of Newcastle and his brother Mr. Pelham, who had for some time wholly engrossed the administration: both houses were assembled on the tenth of November, when Mr. Onslow was unanimously re-elected speaker of the commons. The session was opened as usual, by a speech from the throne, congratulating them on the signal successes of the British navy, and the happy alteration in the government of the United Provinces: his majesty gave them to understand, that a congress would speedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for effecting a general pacification; and reminded them that nothing would more conduce to the success of this negociation than the vigor and unanimity of their proceedings. He received such addresses as the ministers were pleased to dictate: opposition now languished at their feet: the duke of Bedford was become a courtier, and in a little time appointed secretary of state, in the room of the earl of Chesterfield, who had lately executed that office, which he now resigned; and the earl of Sandwich no longer harangued against the administration: this new house of commons, in imitation of the liberality of their predecessors, readily gratified all the requests of the government: they voted 40,000 seamen, and 49,000 land-forces, besides 11,500 marines; the subsidies for the queen of Hungary, the czarina, the king of Sardinia, the electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the Hessians, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle: the sum of £235,749 was granted to the provinces of New-England, to reimburse them for the expense of reducing Cape Breton; £500,000 were given to his majesty for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and about £152,000 to the Scottish claimants in lieu of their jurisdiction: the supplies for the ensuing year fell very little

short of £9,000,000, of which the greater part was raised on a loan by subscription, chargeable on a new subsidy of poundage exacted from all merchandise imported into Great Britain. Immediately after the rebellion was suppressed, the legislature had established some regulations in Scotland, which were thought necessary to prevent such commotions for the future : the highlanders were disarmed, and an act passed for abolishing their peculiarity of garb, which was supposed to keep up party distinctions, to encourage their martial disposition, and preserve the memory of the exploits achieved by their ancestors : in this session a bill was brought in to enforce the execution of that law, and passed with another act for the more effectual punishment of high-treason in the highlands of Scotland. The practice of ensuring French and Spanish ships at London being deemed the sole circumstance that prevented a total stagnation of commerce in those countries, it was prohibited by law under severe penalties ; and this step of the British parliament accelerated the conclusion of the treaty : several other prudent measures were taken in the course of this session for the benefit of the public ; and among these we may reckon an act for encouraging the manufacture of indigo in the British plantations of North-America ; an article, for which Great Britain used to pay £200,000 yearly to the subjects of France. The session was closed on the thirteenth of May, 1748, when the king declared to both houses that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually signed at Aix-la-Chapelle by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces ; and that the basis of this accommodation was a general restitution of the conquests which had been made during the war : immediately after the prorogation of parliament, his majesty set out for his German dominions, after having appointed a regency to rule the realm in his absence.

30. The articles might have been made much less unfavorable to Great Britain and her allies, had the ministry made a proper use of the treaty with the czarina, and if the confederates had acted with more vigor and expedition in the beginning of the campaign : the Russian auxiliaries might have been transported by sea to Lubeck before the end of the preceding summer in their own galleys, which had been lying ready for use since the month of July : had this expedient been used, the Russian troops would have joined the confederate army before the conclusion of the last campaign :

but this easy and expeditious method of conveyance was rejected for a march by land, of incredible length and difficulty, which could not be begun before the month of January, nor accomplished till Midsummer. The operations of the campaign had been concerted at the Hague in January by the respective ministers of the allies, who resolved to bring an army of 190,000 men into the Netherlands, in order to compel the French to abandon the barrier which they had conquered: the towns of Holland became the scenes of tumult and insurrection: the populace plundered the farmers of the revenue, abolished the taxes, and insulted the magistrates; so that the States-General, seeing their country on the brink of anarchy and confusion, authorised the prince of Orange to make such alterations as he should see convenient: they presented him with a diploma, by which he was constituted hereditary stadtholder and captain-general of Dutch Brabant, Flanders, and the upper quarter of Guelderland; and the East-India company appointed him director and governor-general of their commerce and settlements in the Indies: thus invested with authority unknown to his ancestors, he exerted himself with equal industry and discretion in new modelling, augmenting, and assembling the troops of the republic. The confederates knew that the count de Saxe had a design on Maestricht: the Austrian general, Bathiani, made repeated remonstrances to the British ministry, entreating them to take speedy measures for the preservation of that fortress: he in the month of January proposed that the duke of Cumberland should cross the sea, and confer with the prince of Orange on this subject; he undertook, at the peril of his head, to cover Maestricht with 70,000 men from all attacks of the enemy; but his representations seemed to have made very little impression on those to whom they were addressed: the duke of Cumberland did not depart from England till towards the latter end of February; part of March was elapsed before the transports sailed from the Nore with the additional troops and artillery; and the last draughts from the foot-guards were not embarked till the middle of August.

31. The different bodies of the confederate forces joined each other, and encamped in the neighborhood of Ruremond, to the number of 110,000 men; and the French army invested Maestricht without opposition on the third of April: the garrison consisted of imperial and Dutch troops, under the conduct of the governor, baron d'Aylva, who defended

the place with extraordinary skill and resolution: he annoyed the besiegers in repeated sallies; but they were determined to surmount all opposition, and prosecuted their approaches with incredible ardor: they assaulted the covered way, and there effected a lodgement, after an obstinate dispute, in which they lost 2000 of their best troops; but next day they were intirely dislodged by the gallantry of the garrison. These hostilities were suddenly suspended, in consequence of the preliminaries signed at Aix-la-Chapelle: the plenipotentiaries agreed, that, for the glory of his christian majesty's arms, the town of Maestricht should be surrendered to his general, on condition that it should be restored with all the magazines and artillery: he accordingly took possession of it on the third of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honors of war; and a cessation of arms immediately ensued. By this time the Russian auxiliaries, to the number of 37,000, commanded by prince Repnin, had arrived in Moravia, where they were reviewed by their imperial majesties; then they proceeded to the confines of Franconia, where they were ordered to halt, after they had marched 700 miles since the beginning of the year: the French king declared, that should they advance farther, he would demolish the fortifications of Maestricht and Bergen-op-Zoom: this dispute was referred to the plenipotentiaries, who in the beginning of August concluded a convention, importing that the Russian troops should return to their own country, and that the French king should disband an equal number of his forces. The season being far advanced, the Russians were provided with winter-quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they continued till the spring, when they marched back to Livonia: in the mean time 37,000 French troops were withdrawn from Flanders into Picardy, and the two armies remained quiet till the conclusion of the definitive treaty: the suspension of arms was proclaimed at London, and in all the capitals of the contracting powers; orders were sent to the respective admirals in different parts of the world to refrain from hostilities; and a communication of trade and intelligence was again opened between the nations which had been at variance. No material transaction distinguished the campaign in Italy: the French and Spanish troops, who had joined the Genoese in the territories of the republic, amounted to 30,000 men, under the direction of the duke de Richelieu, who was sent from France to assume that command, on the death of the duke de

Boufflers ; while marshal de Belleisle, at the head of 50,000 men, covered the western Riviera, which was threatened with an invasion by 40,000 Austrians and Piedmontese, under general Leutrum ; at the same time general Brown, with a more numerous army, prepared to re-enter the eastern Riviera, and re-commence the siege of Genoa : but these intended operations were prevented by an armistice, which took place as soon as the belligerent powers had acceded to the preliminaries.

32. In the East-Indies, rear-admiral Boscawen undertook the siege of Pondicherry, which, in the month of August, he blocked up by sea with his squadron, and invested by land with a small army of 4000 Europeans, and about 200 natives of that country : he prosecuted the enterprise with great spirit, and took the fort of Area Coupan, at the distance of three miles from the town ; then he made his approaches to the place, against which he opened batteries, while it was bombarded and cannonaded by the shipping : but the fortifications were so strong, the garrison so numerous, and the engineers of the enemy so expert in their profession, that he made very little progress, and sustained considerable damage : at length, his army being diminished by sickness, and the rainy season approaching, he ordered the artillery and stores to be re-embarked ; and, raising the siege on the sixth of October, returned to Fort St. David, after having lost about 1000 men in this expedition : in the sequel, several ships of his squadron and above 1200 sailors perished in a hurricane. The naval force of Great Britain was more successful in the West-Indies : rear-admiral Knowles, with a squadron of eight ships, attacked Fort Louis, on the south side of Hispaniola, which after a warm action of three hours was surrendered on capitulation, and dismantled : then he made an abortive attempt on St. Jago de Cuba, and returned to Jamaica, extremely chagrined at his disappointment, which he imputed to the misconduct of captain Dent, who was tried in England by a court-martial, and honorably acquitted. On the first of October, the same admiral, cruising in the neighborhood of the Havanna, with eight ships of the line, encountered a Spanish squadron of nearly the same strength, under the command of the admirals Reggio and Spinola : the engagement began between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued with intervals till eight in the evening, when the enemy retired to the Havanna, with the loss of two ships ; one of which

struck to the British admiral, and the other was, two days after, set on fire by her own commander, that she might not fall into the hands of the English. Mr. Knowles taxed some of his captains with misbehavior, and they recriminated on his conduct: on their return to England, a court-martial was the consequence of the mutual accusations: those who adhered to the commander, and the others whom he impeached, were inflamed against each other with the most rancorous resentment: the admiral himself did not escape uncensured; two of his captains were reprimanded; but captain Holmes, who had displayed uncommon courage, was honorably acquitted: their animosities did not end with the court-martial: a bloodless encounter happened between the admiral and captain Powlett; but captain Innes and captain Clarke meeting by appointment in Hyde-park with pistols, the former was mortally wounded, and died next morning; the latter was tried, and condemned for murder, but indulged with his majesty's pardon. No naval transaction of any consequence happened in the European seas during the course of this summer: in January indeed the *Magnanime*, a French ship of the line, was taken in the channel by two English cruisers after an obstinate engagement; and the privateers took a considerable number of merchant-ships from the enemy.

33. The plenipotentiaries still continued at Aix-la-Chapelle, discussing all the articles of the definitive treaty, which was at length concluded and signed on the seventh of October: it was founded on former treaties, which were now expressly confirmed, from that of Westphalia to the last concluded at London and Vienna. The contracting parties agreed that all prisoners on each side should be mutually released without ransom, and all conquests restored: that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla should be ceded as a settlement to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; but in case of his ascending the throne of Spain, or of the two Sicilies, or his dying without male issue, that they should revert to the house of Austria: that the king of Great Britain should, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction to reside in France as hostages until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all the other conquests which his Britannic majesty should have achieved in the East or West-Indies, before or after the preliminaries were signed: that the *assiento* contract, with the article of the

annual ship, should be confirmed for four years, during which the enjoyment of that privilege was suspended since the commencement of the present war: that Dunkirk should remain fortified on the land side, and towards the sea continue on the footing of former treaties: all the contracting powers became guarantees to the king of Prussia for the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, as he at present possessed them; and they likewise engaged to secure the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia in possession of her hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatic sanction. The other articles regulated the forms and times fixed for this mutual restitution, as well as for the termination of hostilities in different parts of the world; but the right of English subjects to navigate in the American seas without being subject to search was not once mentioned, though this claim was the original source of the differences between Great Britain and Spain; nor were the limits of Acadia ascertained: this and all other disputes were left to the discussion of commissaries. We have already observed, that after the troubles of the empire began, the war was no longer maintained on British principles; it became a continental contest, and was prosecuted on the side of the allies without conduct, spirit, or unanimity: in the Netherlands they were outnumbered and outwitted by the enemy: they never hazarded a battle without sustaining a defeat: their vast armies, paid by Great Britain, lay inactive, and beheld one fortress reduced after another, until the whole country was subdued; and as their generals fought, their plenipotentiaries negotiated: at a time when their affairs began to wear the most promising aspect; when the arrival of the Russian auxiliaries would have secured an undoubted superiority in the field; when the British fleets had trampled on the naval power of France and Spain, intercepted their supplies of treasure, and cut off all their resources of commerce; the British ministers seemed to treat without the least regard to the honor and advantage of their country: they left her most valuable and necessary rights of trade unowned and undecided; they subscribed to the insolent demand of sending the nobles of the realm to grace the court and adorn the triumphs of her enemy; and they tamely gave up her conquests in North-America, of more consequence to her traffic than all the other dominions for which the powers at war contended: they gave up the important isle of Cape Breton in exchange for a petty factory in the

East-Indies, belonging to a private company, whose existence had been deemed prejudicial to the commonwealth. What then were the fruits which Britain reaped from this long and desperate war? A dreadful expense of blood and treasure,¹⁹ disgrace on digrace, an additional load of grievous impositions, and the national debt accumulated to the enormous sum of £80,000,000 sterling.

¹⁹ Such an expensive war could not be maintained without a very extraordinary exertion of a commercial spirit; accordingly we find that Great Britain, since the death of king William, has risen under her pressures with increased vigor and perseverance: whether it be owing to the natural progression of trade extending itself from its origin to its acme, or *ne plus ultra*; or to the encouragement given by the administration to moneyed men of all denominations; or to necessity, impelling those who can no longer live on small incomes to risk their capitals in traffic, that they may have a chance for bettering their fortunes; or, lastly, to a concurrence of all these causes; certain it is, the national exports and imports have been sensibly increasing for these forty years: the yearly medium of woollen exports, from the years 1738 to 1743 inclusive, amounted to about £3,500,000, which was a yearly increase, on the medium, of £500,000 above the medium from 1718 to 1724. From this article, the reader will conceive the prodigious extent and importance of the British commerce.

CHAP. XXI.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1748.

1. Reflections on the peace—2. The prince of Wales's adherents join the opposition—3. Character of the ministry—4. Session opened—5. Debate on the address—6. Supplies granted—7. Exorbitant demand of the empress-queen opposed—8. Violent contest concerning the seamen's bill—9. Objections to the mutiny-bill—10. Bill for limiting the term of a soldier's service—11. Measures taken with respect to the African trade—12. Scheme for improving the British fishery—13. Attempt to open the commerce to Hudson's-bay—14. Plan for manning the navy—15. Fruitless motions made by the opposition—16. Severities exercised on some students at Oxford—17. Duke of Newcastle chosen chancellor of the university of Cambridge—18. Tumults in different parts of the kingdom—19. Scheme for a settlement in Nova Scotia—20. Town of Halifax founded—21. French attempt to settle the island of Tobago—22. Rejoicings for the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—23. Pretender's eldest son arrested at Paris—24. Appearance of a rupture between Russia and Sweden—25. Interposition of the king of Prussia—26. Measures taken by the French ministry—27. Conduct of the different European powers—28. Insolence of the Barbary corsairs—29. Disturbances in England—30. Session opened—31. Subjects of debate—32. Scheme for reducing the interest of the national debt—33. Act passed for that purpose—34. New mutiny-bill—35. Bill for encouraging the importation of iron from America—36. Erection of the British herring-fishery—37. New African company—38. Westminster election—39. Earthquakes in London—40. Pestilential fever at the session in the Old-Bailey—41. Disputes between Russia and Sweden—42. Plan for electing the archduke Joseph king of the Romans—43. Opposition of the king of Prussia—44. Disputes with the French about the limits of Nova Scotia—45. Treaty with Spain—46. Session opened—47. Debate on the address—48. Supplies granted—49. Death and character of the prince of Wales—50. Settlement of a regency in case of a minor sovereign—51. General naturalisation bill—52. Censure passed on a paper entitled Constitutional Queries—53. Proceedings of the commons on the Westminster election—54. Mr. Murray sent prisoner to Newgate—55. Session closed. Style altered.

1. THE peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, however unstable or inglorious it might appear to those few who understood the interests and felt for the honor of their country, was never-

theless not unwelcome to the nation in general: the British ministry will always find it more difficult to satisfy the people at the end of a successful campaign than at the conclusion of an unfortunate war: the English are impatient of miscarriage and disappointment, and too apt to be intoxicated with victory: at this period they were tired of the burdens, and sick of the disgraces, to which they had been exposed in the course of seven tedious campaigns: they had suffered considerable losses and interruption in the article of commerce, which was the source of their national opulence and power; they knew it would necessarily be clogged with additional duties, for the maintenance of a continental war, and the support of foreign subsidiaries; and they drew very faint presages of future success either from the conduct of their allies or the capacity of their commanders. To a people influenced by these considerations, the restoration of a free trade, the respite from that anxiety and suspense which the prosecution of a war never fails to engender, and the prospect of a speedy deliverance from discouraging restraint and oppressive impositions, were advantages that sweetened the bitter draught of a dishonorable treaty; and induced the majority of the nation to acquiesce in the peace, not barely without murmuring, but even with some degree of satisfaction and applause.

2. Immediately after the exchange of ratifications at Aix-la-Chapelle, the armies were broken up, the allies in the Netherlands withdrew their several proportions of troops, the French began to evacuate Flanders, and the English forces were re-embarked for their own country: his Britannic majesty returned from his German dominions in November, having landed near Margate, in Kent, after a dangerous passage; and on the twenty-ninth of the same month he opened the session of parliament: by this time the misunderstanding between the first two personages of the royal family had been increased by a fresh succession of matter: the prince of Wales had held a court of stannary, in quality of duke of Cornwall; and revived some claims attached to that dignity, which, had they been admitted, would have greatly augmented his influence among the Cornish boroughs: these efforts roused the jealousy of the administration, which had always considered them as an interest wholly dependent on the crown; and therefore the pretensions of his royal highness were opposed by the whole weight of the ministry. His adherents, resenting these

hostilities as an injury to their royal master, immediately joined the remnant of the former opposition in parliament, and resolved to counteract all the ministerial measures that should fall under their cognisance; at least, they determined to seize every opportunity of thwarting the servants of the crown in every scheme or proposal that had not an evident tendency to the advantage of the nation: this band of auxiliaries was headed by the earl of Egmont, Dr. Lee, and Mr. Nugent: the first possessed a species of eloquence rather plausible than powerful; he spoke with fluency and fire; his spirit was bold and enterprising, his apprehension quick, and his repartee severe: Dr. Lee was a man of extensive erudition and irreproachable morals; particularly versed in the civil law, which he professed; and perfectly well acquainted with the constitution of his country: Mr. Nugent was an orator of middling abilities, who harangued on all subjects indiscriminately, and supplied with confidence what he wanted in capacity: he had been at some pains to study the business of the house, as well as to understand the machine of government; and was tolerably well heard, as he generally spoke with an appearance of good humor, and hazarded every whimsical idea as it arose in his imagination. But lord Bolingbroke is said to have been the chief spring, which in secret actuated the deliberations of the prince's court: that nobleman, seemingly sequestered from the tumults of a public life, resided at Battersea, where he was visited like a sainted shrine by all the distinguished votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition: there he was cultivated and admired for the elegance of his manners and the charms of his conversation: the prince's curiosity was first captivated by his character, and his esteem was afterwards secured by the irresistible address of that extraordinary personage, who continued in a regular progression to insinuate himself still farther and farther into the good graces of his royal patron: how far the conduct of his royal highness was influenced by the private advice of this nobleman, we shall not pretend to determine; but certain it is, the friends of the ministry propagated a report, that he was the dictator of those measures which the prince adopted; and that, under the specious pretext of attachment to the heir apparent of the crown, he concealed his real aim, which was to perpetuate the breach in the royal family. Whatever his sentiments and motives might have been, this was no other than a revival of the old ministerial clamor, that a man cannot be

well affected to the king if he pretends to censure any measure of the administration.

3. The weight which the opposition derived from these new confederates in the house of commons was still greatly overbalanced by the power, influence, and ability that sustained every ministerial project. Mr. Pelham, who chiefly managed the helm of affairs, was generally esteemed as a man of honesty and candor, actuated by a sincere love for his country, though he had been educated in erroneous principles of government, and in some measure obliged to prosecute a fatal system, which descended to him by inheritance: at this time he numbered Mr. Pitt among his fellow-ministers, and was moreover supported by many other individuals of distinguished abilities; among whom the first place in point of genius was due to Mr. Murray, who executed the office of solicitor-general: this gentleman, the son of a noble family in North-Britain, had raised himself to great eminence at the bar by a most keen, intuitive spirit of apprehension, that seemed to seize every object at first glance; an innate sagacity, that saved the trouble of intense application; and an irresistible stream of eloquence, that flowed pure and classical, strong and copious, reflecting, in the most conspicuous point of view, the subjects over which it rolled, and sweeping before it all the slime of formal hesitation, and all the entangling weeds of chicanery: yet the servants of the crown were not so implicitly attached to the first minister as to acquiesce in all his plans, and dedicate their time and talents to the support of every court measure indiscriminately: this was one material point in which Mr. Pelham deviated from the maxims of his predecessor, who admitted of no contradiction from any of his adherents or fellow-servants, but insisted on sacrificing their whole perception and faculties to his conduct and disposal: that sordid deference to a minister no longer characterised the subordinate instruments of the administration: it was not unusual to see the great officers of the government divided in a parliamentary debate, and to hear the secretary at war opposing with great vehemence a clause suggested by the chancellor of the exchequer. After all, if we coolly consider those arguments which have been bandied about, and retorted with such eagerness and acrimony in the house of commons, and divest them of those passionate tropes and declamatory metaphors which the spirit of opposition alone had produced, we shall find very little left for the subject of

dispute, and sometimes be puzzled to discover any material source of disagreement.

4. In the month of November his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech, acquainting them that the definitive treaty of peace was at length signed by all the parties concerned; that he had made the most effectual provision for securing the rights and interests of his own subjects, and procured for his allies the best conditions which in the present situation of affairs could be obtained: he said, he had found a general good disposition in all parties to bring the negociation to a happy conclusion; and observed, that we might promise ourselves a long enjoyment of the blessings of peace: finally, after having remarked that times of tranquillity were the proper seasons for lessening the national debt and strengthening the kingdom against future events, he recommended to the commons the improvement of the public revenue, the maintenance of a considerable naval force, the advancement of commerce, and the cultivation of the arts of peace. This speech, as usual, was echoed back by an address to the throne from both houses, containing general expressions of the warmest loyalty and gratitude to his majesty, and implying the most perfect satisfaction and acquiescence in the articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

5. The members in the opposition, according to custom, cavilled at the nature of this address: they observed, that the late pacification was the worst and most inglorious of all the bad treaties to which the English nation had ever subscribed; that it was equally disgraceful, indefinite, and absurd: they said, the British navy had gained such an ascendancy over the French at sea, that the sources of their wealth were already choked up; that the siege of Maestricht would have employed their arms in the Low Countries till the arrival of the Russians; and that the accession of these auxiliaries would have thrown the superiority into the scale of the allies: they did not fail to take notice that the most important and original object of the war was left wholly undecided; and demonstrated the absurdity of their promising in the address to make good such engagements as his majesty had entered into with his allies, before they knew what those engagements were. In answer to these objections, the ministers replied, that the peace was in itself rather better than could be expected; and that the smallest delay might have proved fatal to the liberties of

Europe : they affirmed, that the Dutch were on the point of concluding a neutrality, in consequence of which their troops would have been withdrawn from the allied army ; and, in that case, even the addition of the Russian auxiliaries would not have rendered it a match for the enemy : they asserted, that if the war had been prolonged another year, the national credit of Great Britain must have been intirely ruined, many of the public funds having sunk below par in the preceding season ; so that the ministry had begun to despair of seeing the money paid in on the new subscription : with respect to the restoration of Cape Breton, the limits of Nova Scotia, and the right of navigating without search in the American seas, which right had been left unestablished in the treaty, they declared that the first was an unnecessary expense, of no consequence to Great Britain ; and that the other two were points in dispute, to be amicably settled in private conferences by commissaries duly authorised, but by no means articles to be established by a general treaty.

6. What the opposition wanted in strength it endeavored to make up with spirit and perseverance : every ministerial motion and measure was canvased, sifted, and decried with uncommon art and vivacity ; but all this little availed against the single article of superior numbers, and accordingly this was the source of certain triumph in all debates in which the servants of the crown were united. The nation had reason to expect an immediate mitigation in the article of annual expense, considering the number of troops and ships of war which had been reduced at the ratification of the treaty ; but they were disagreeably undeceived in finding themselves again loaded with very extraordinary impositions, for the payment of a vast debt which government had contracted in the course of the war, notwithstanding the incredible aids granted by parliament. The committee of supply established four points of consideration, in their deliberations concerning the sums necessary to be raised ; namely, for fulfilling the engagements which parliament had entered into with his majesty, and the services undertaken for the success of the war ; for discharging debts contracted by government for making good deficiencies ; and for defraying the current expense of the year : it appeared, that the nation owed £44,000 to the elector of Bavaria ; above £30,000 to the duke of Brunswick ; the like sum to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel ; and near £9000 to the elector

of Mentz : the queen of Hungary claimed an arrear of £100,000 : the city of Glasgow, in North-Britain, presented a petition, praying to be reimbursed the sum of £10,000, extorted from that corporation by the son of the pretender during the rebellion : £112,000 were owing to the forces in North-America and the East-Indies ; besides near £500,000 due on extraordinary expense incurred by the land forces in America, Flanders, and North-Britain, by the office of ordnance, and other services of the last year, to which the parliamentary provision did not extend : the remaining debt of the ordnance amounted to above £230,000 ; but the navy-bills could not be discharged for less than £4,000,000 : an addition of £2,374,333. 15s. 2d. was also required for the current service of the year : in a word, the whole annual supply exceeded £8,000,000 sterling ; a sum, at which the whole nation expressed equal astonishment and disgust : it was charged on the duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry, the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, annuities on the sinking-fund, an application of £1,000,000 from that deposit, and the loan of the like sum to be charged on the first aids of next session : the number of seamen was reduced to 17,000, and that of the land forces to 18,857, including guards and garrisons.

7. Every article of expense however was warmly disputed by the anti-courtiers ; especially the demand of the queen of Hungary, which was deemed unreasonable, exorbitant, and rapacious, considering the seas of blood which we had shed, and the immensity of treasure we had exhausted for her benefit ; and surely the subjects of this nation had some reason to complain of an indulgence of this nature, granted to a power which they had literally snatched from the brink of ruin ; a power, whose quarrel they had espoused with a degree of enthusiasm that did much more honor to their gallantry than to their discretion ; a power, that kept aloof, with a stateliness of pride peculiar to herself and family, and beheld her British auxiliaries fighting her battles at their own expense ; while she squandered away, in the idle pageantry of barbarous magnificence, those ample subsidies which they advanced in order to maintain her armies and furnish out her proportion of the war. The leaders of the opposition neglected no opportunity of embittering the triumphs of their adversaries ; they inveighed against the extravagance of granting £16,000 for the pay of general and staff-officers, during a peace that required no such establishment, especially

at a juncture when the national encumbrances rendered 'it absolutely necessary to practise every expedient of economy : they even combated the request of the city of Glasgow to be indemnified for the extraordinary exaction it underwent from the rebels ; though it appeared from unquestionable evidence that this extraordinary contribution was exacted on account of that city's peculiar attachment to the reigning family ; that it had always invariably adhered to revolution principles ; and with an unequalled spirit of loyalty and zeal for the protestant succession, distinguished itself both in the last and preceding rebellion.

8. But the most violent contest arose on certain regulations which the ministry wanted to establish in two bills, relating to the sea and land service : the first, under the title of a bill for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the navy, was calculated solely with a view of subjecting half-pay officers to martial law ; a design, which not only furnished the opposition with a plausible handle for accusing the ministers, as intending to encroach on the constitution, in order to extend the influence of the crown ; but also alarmed the sea-officers to such a degree, that they assembled to a considerable number, with a view to deliberate on the proper means of defending their privileges and liberties from invasion : the result of their consultations was a petition to the house of commons, subscribed by three admirals and forty-seven captains, not members of parliament, representing that the bill in agitation contained several clauses, tending to the injury and dishonor of all naval officers, as well as to the detriment of his majesty's service ; and that the laws already in force had been always found effectual for securing the service of officers on half-pay on the most pressing occasions : they therefore hoped that they should not be subjected to new hardships and discouragements ; and begged to be heard by their counsel before the committee of the whole house touching such parts of the bill as they apprehended would be injurious to themselves and the other officers of his majesty's navy : this petition was presented to the house by Sir John Norris, and the motion for its being read was seconded by Sir Peter Warren, whose character was universally esteemed and beloved in the nation. This measure had like to have produced very serious consequences : many commanders and subalterns had repaired to the admiralty, and threatened in plain terms to throw up their

commissions in case the bill should pass into a law; and a general ferment was begun among all the subordinate members of the navy: a motion was made, that the petitioners, according to their request, should be heard by their counsel; and this proposal was strongly urged by the first orators of the anti-ministerial association; but the minister, confiding in his own strength, reinforced by the abilities of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Lyttelton, and Mr. Fox, the secretary at war, strenuously opposed the motion, which, on a division, was thrown out by a great majority: the several articles of the bill were afterwards separately debated with great warmth; and though Mr. Pelham had, with the most disinterested air of candor, repeatedly declared that he required no support even from his own adherents, but that which might arise from reason unrestrained and full conviction, he, on this occasion, reaped all the fruit from their zeal and attachment which could be expected from the most implicit complaisance. Some plausible amendments of the most exceptionable clauses were offered, particularly of that which imposed an oath on the members of every court-martial, that they should not, on any account, disclose the opinions or transactions of any such tribunal: this was considered as a sanction, under which any court-martial might commit the most flagrant acts of injustice and oppression, which even parliament itself could not redress, because it would be impossible to ascertain the truth, eternally sealed up by this absurd obligation: the amendment proposed was, that the member of a court-martial might reveal the transactions and operations of it in all cases wherein the courts of justice, as the law now stands, have a right to interfere, if required thereto by either house of parliament: a very reasonable mitigation, which, however, was rejected by the majority: nevertheless, the suspicion of an intended encroachment had raised such a clamor without doors, and diffused the odium of this measure so generally, that the minister thought proper to drop the projected article of war, subjecting the reformed officers of the navy to the jurisdictions of courts-martial; and the bill, being also softened in other particulars during its passage through the upper house, at length received the royal assent.

9. The flame which this act had kindled was rather increased than abated on the appearance of a new mutiny-bill replete with divers innovations, tending to augment the influence of the crown, as well as the authority and power of a military jurisdiction; all the articles of war established

since the reign of Charles II. were submitted to the inspection of the commons ; and in these appeared a gradual spirit of encroachment, almost imperceptibly deviating from the civil institutes of the English constitution towards the establishment of a military dominion. By this new bill a power was vested in any commander in chief to revise and correct any legal sentence of a court-martial, by which the members of such a court, corresponding with the nature of a civil jury, were rendered absolutely useless, and the commander in a great measure absolute ; for he had not only the power of summoning such officers as he might choose to sit on any trial, a prerogative unknown to any civil court of judicature, but he was also at liberty to review and alter the sentence ; so that a man was subject to two trials for the same offence, and the commander in chief was judge both of the guilt and the punishment : by the final clause of this bill, martial law was extended to all officers on half-pay ; and the same arguments which had been urged against this article in the navy-bill, were now repeated and reinforced with redoubled fervor. Many reasons were offered to prove that the half-pay was allotted as a recompense for past services ; and the opponents of the bill affirmed, that such an article, by augmenting the dependents of the crown, might be very dangerous to the constitution : on the other hand, the partisans of the ministry asserted that the half-pay was granted as a retaining fee ; and that originally all those who enjoyed this indulgence were deemed to be in actual service, consequently subject to martial law. Mr. Pitt, who at this time exercised the office of paymaster-general with a rigor of integrity unknown to the most disinterested of all his predecessors in that department, espoused the clause in dispute as a necessary extension of military discipline, which could never be attended with any bad consequence to the liberty of the nation : the remarks which he made on this occasion implied an opinion that our liberties wholly existed in dependence on the direction of the sovereign and the virtue of the army : ‘ to that virtue,’ said he, ‘ we trust even at this hour, small as our army is ; to that virtue we must have trusted, had this bill been modelled as its warmest opposers could have wished ; and without this virtue, should the lords, the commons, and the people of England intrench themselves behind parchment up to the teeth, the sword will find a passage to the vitals of the constitution.’ All the disputed articles of the bill being sus-

tained on the shoulders of a great majority, it was conveyed to the upper house, where it excited another violent contest : on the question whether officers on half-pay had not been subject to martial law, the judges were consulted and divided in their sentiments. The earl of Bath declared his opinion, that martial law did not extend to reformed officers ; and opened all the sluices of his ancient eloquence : he admitted a case which was urged, of seven officers on half-pay, who, being taken in actual rebellion at Preston in the year 1715, had been executed on the spot by martial law, in consequence of the king's express order : he candidly owned, that he himself was secretary at war at that period ; that he had approved of this order, and even transmitted it to general Carpenter, who commanded at Preston ; but now his opinion was intirely changed ; he observed, that when the fore-mentioned rebellion first broke out, the house presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be pleased to employ all half-pay officers, and gratify them with whole pay ; and, indeed, all such officers were voted on whole pay by the house of commons : they were afterwards apprised of this vote by an advertisement in the Gazette, and ordered to hold themselves in readiness to repair to such places as should be appointed ; and finally commanded to repair by such a day to those places, on pain of being struck off the half-pay list : these precautions would have been unnecessary, had they been deemed subject to martial law ; and the penalty for non-obedience would not have been merely a privation of their pensions, but they would have fallen under the punishment of death, as deserters from the service : his lordship distinguished, with great propriety and precision, between a step which had been precipitately taken in a violent crisis, when the public was heated with apprehension and resentment, and a solemn law concerted at leisure, during the most profound tranquillity. Notwithstanding the spirited opposition of this nobleman, and some attempts to insert additional clauses, the bill, having undergone a few inconsiderable amendments, passed by a very considerable majority.

10. Immediately after the mutiny-bill had passed the lower house, another fruitless effort was made by the opposition : the danger of a standing army, on whose virtue the constitution of Great Britain seemed to depend, did not fail to alarm the minds of many who were zealously attached to the liberties of their country, and gave birth to a scheme,

which, if executed, would have enabled the legislature to establish a militia, that must have answered many national purposes, and acted as a constitutional bulwark against the excesses and ambition of a military standing force, under the immediate influence of government: the scheme which patriotism conceived, was in all probability adopted by party: a bill was brought in, limiting the time beyond which no soldier or non-commissioned officer should be compelled to continue in the service: had this limitation taken place, such a rotation of soldiers would have ensued among the common people, that in a few years every peasant, laborer, and inferior tradesman in the kingdom would have understood the exercise of arms; and perhaps the people in general would have concluded that a standing army was altogether unnecessary: a project of this nature could not, for obvious reasons, be agreeable to the administration, and therefore the bill was rendered abortive; for, after having been twice read, it was postponed from time to time till the parliament was prorogued, and never appeared in the sequel: such were the chief subjects of debate between the ministry and the opposition, composed, as we have already observed, of the prince's servants and the remains of the country party; this last being headed by lord Strange, son of the earl of Derby, and Sir Francis Dashwood; the former a nobleman of distinguished abilities, keen, penetrating, eloquent, and sagacious; the other frank, spirited, and sensible.

11. It must be owned, however, for the honor of the ministry, that if they carried a few unpopular measures with a high hand, they seemed earnestly desirous of making amends to the nation, by promoting divers regulations for the benefit and improvement of commerce, which actually took place in the ensuing session of parliament: one of the principal objects of this nature which fell under their cognisance, was the trade to the coast of Guinea; a very important branch of traffic, whether considered as a market of British manufactures, or as the source that supplied the English plantations with negroes: this was originally monopolised by a joint-stock company, which had from time to time derived considerable sums from the legislature, for enabling them the better to support certain forts or castles on the coast of Africa, to facilitate the commerce and protect the merchants: in the sequel, however, the exclusive privilege having been judged prejudicial to the national

trade, the coast was laid open to all British subjects indiscriminately, on condition of their paying a certain duty towards defraying the expense of the forts and factories: this expedient did not answer the purposes for which it had been contrived: the separate traders, instead of receiving any benefit from the protection of the company, industriously avoided their castles, as the receptacles of tyranny and oppression: the company, whether from the misconduct or knavery of their directors, contracted such a load of debts as their stock was unable to discharge; they seemed to neglect the traffic, and allowed the castles to decay: in a word, their credit being exhausted, and their creditors growing clamorous, they presented a petition to the house of commons, disclosing their distresses, and imploring such assistance as should enable them not only to pay their debts, but also to maintain the forts in a defensible condition. This petition, recommended to the house in a message from his majesty, was corroborated by another in behalf of the company's creditors: divers merchants of London, interested in the trade of Africa and the British plantations in America, petitioned the house, that, as the African trade was of the utmost importance to the nation, and could not be supported without forts and settlements, some effectual means should be speedily taken for protecting and extending this valuable branch of commerce: a fourth was offered by the merchants of Liverpool, representing that the security and protection of the trade to Africa must always principally depend on his majesty's ships of war being properly stationed on that coast, and seasonably relieved; and that such forts and settlements as might be judged necessary for marks of sovereignty and possession would prove a nuisance and a burden to the trade, should they remain in the hands of any joint-stock company, whose private interest always had been, and ever would be, found incompatible with the interest of the separate and open trader: they therefore prayed that the said forts might either be taken into his majesty's immediate possession, and supported by the public; or committed to the merchants trading on that coast, in such a manner as the house should judge expedient, without vesting in them any other advantage or right to the commerce, but what should be common to all his majesty's subjects: this remonstrance was succeeded by another to the same effect, from the master, wardens, assistants, and commonalty of the society of merchant adventurers within the city of Bristol. All

these petitions were referred to a committee appointed to deliberate on this subject, who agreed to certain resolutions, implying that the trade to Africa should be free and open; that the British forts and settlements on that coast ought to be maintained, and put under proper direction; and that in order to carry on the African trade in the most beneficial manner to these kingdoms, all the British subjects trading to Africa should be united in one open company, without any joint-stock, or power to trade as a corporation. A bill was immediately founded on these resolutions, which alarmed the company to such a degree, that they had recourse to another petition, demonstrating their right to the coast of Africa, and expressing their reliance on the justice of the house, that they should not be deprived of their property without an adequate consideration: in a few days a second address was offered by their creditors, complaining of the company's mismanagement; promising to surrender their right, as the wisdom of parliament should prescribe; praying that their debts might be inquired into, and that the equivalent to be granted for the company's possessions might be secured and applied, in the first place, for their benefit: the commons, in consequence of this petition, ordered the company to produce a list of their debts, together with a copy of their charter, and two remonstrances, which their creditors had presented to them before this application to parliament: a committee of the whole house, having deliberated on these papers and petitions, and heard the company by their counsel, resolved to give them a reasonable compensation for their charter, lands, forts, settlements, slaves, and effects, to be in the first place applied towards the payment of their creditors: a bill being formed accordingly, passed the commons, and was conveyed to the upper house, where a great many objections were started; and for the present it was dropped, until a more unexceptionable plan should be concerted: in the mean time their lordships addressed his majesty, that the lords commissioners for trade and plantations might be directed to prepare a scheme on this subject, to be laid before both houses of parliament at the beginning of next session; that instant orders should be given for the preserving and securing the forts and settlements on the coast of Guinea belonging to Great Britain; and that proper persons should be appointed to examine into the condition of those forts, as well as of the military stores, slaves, and vessels belonging to the African company, so as

to make a faithful report of these particulars with all possible expedition.

12. The ministry having professed an inclination, and indeed shown a disposition to promote and extend the commerce of the kingdom, the commons resolved to take some steps for encouraging the white fishery along the northern coast of the island, which is an inexhaustible source of wealth to our industrious neighbors the Dutch, who employ annually a great number of hands and vessels in this branch of commerce. The sensible part of the British people, reflecting on this subject, plainly foresaw that a fishery, under due regulations, undertaken with the protection and encouragement of the legislature, would not only prove a fund of national riches, and a nursery of seamen; but likewise, in a great measure, prevent any future insurrections in the highlands of Scotland, by diffusing a spirit of industry among the natives of that country; who finding it in their power to become independent on the fruits of their own labor, would soon enfranchise themselves from that slavish attachment, by which they had been so long connected with their landlords and chieftains: accordingly, a committee was appointed to deliberate on the state of the British fishery; and on their report a bill was founded for encouraging the whale fishery on the coast of Spitsbergen, by a bounty of forty shillings per ton for every ship equipped for that undertaking: the bill having made its way through both houses, and obtained the royal assent, the merchants in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in North-Britain, began to build and fit out ships of great burden, and peculiar structure for the purposes of that fishery, which ever since has been carried on with equal vigor and success: divers merchants and traders of London having presented to the house of commons a petition, representing the benefits that would accrue to the community from a herring and cod fishery, established on proper principles, and carried on with skill and integrity, this remonstrance was referred to a committee, on whose resolutions a bill was formed; but before this could be discussed in the house, the parliament was prorogued, and of consequence this measure proved abortive.

13. The next regulation proposed in favor of trade, was that of laying open the commerce of Hudson's-bay, in the most northern parts of America, where a small monopoly maintained a few forts and settlements, and prosecuted a very advantageous fur-trade with the Indians of that con-

continent. It was suggested, that the company had long ago enriched themselves by their exclusive privilege; that they employed no more than four annual ships; that, contrary to an express injunction in their charter, they discouraged all attempts to discover a north-west passage to the East-Indies; that they dealt cruelly and perfidiously with the poor Indians, who never traded with them except when compelled by necessity, so that the best part of the fur-trade had devolved to the enemies of Great Britain; and that their exclusive patent restricted to very narrow limits a branch of commerce, which might be cultivated to a prodigious extent, as well as to the infinite advantage of Great Britain. Petitions, that the trade of Hudson's-bay might be laid open, were presented to the house by the merchants of London, Great Yarmouth, and Wolverhampton; and a committee was appointed to deliberate on this subject: on the other hand, the company exerted themselves in petitions and private applications for their own preservation. The committee examined many papers and records, and the report was taken into consideration by the whole house: many evidences were interrogated, and elaborate speeches made on both sides of the question: at length, a majority seemed satisfied that the traffic on the coast of Hudson's-bay could not be preserved without forts and settlements, which must be maintained either by an exclusive company or at the public expense; and as this was not judged a proper juncture to encumber the nation with any charge of that kind, the design of dissolving the company was laid aside till a more favorable opportunity.

14. The government had, during the war, found great difficulty in pressing men for the service of the navy; a practice, which, however sanctioned by necessity, is nevertheless a flagrant encroachment on the liberty of the subject, and a violent outrage against the constitution of Great Britain: the ministry therefore had employed some of their agents to form a scheme for retaining in time of peace, by means of a certain allowance, a number of seamen, who should be registered for the purpose, and be ready to man a squadron on any emergency: such a plan, properly regulated, would have been a great advantage to commerce, which is always distressed by the practice of pressing seamen; and at the same time a great security to the kingdom in dangerous conjunctures, when it may be necessary to equip an armament at a minute's warning: the house of

commoners, being moved on this subject, agreed to divers resolutions as a foundation for the bill; but the members in the opposition, affecting to represent this measure in an odious light, as an imitation of the French method of registering seamen without their own consent, Mr. Pelham dropped it as an unpopular project.

15. Information having been received that the French intended to settle the neutral islands of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago in the West-Indies, the nation had taken the alarm in the beginning of the year; and a motion was made in the house of commons to address his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for laying before the house copies of the instructions given to the governors of Barbadoes for ten years last past, so far as they related to these neutral islands; but whether the minister was conscious of a neglect in this particular, or thought such inquiries trenched on the prerogative, he opposed the motion with all his might; and after some debate, the previous question passed in the negative: this was also the fate of another motion made by the earl of Egmont for an address, entreating his majesty would submit to the inspection of the house all the proposals of peace that had been made by the French king since the year which preceded the last rebellion, to that in which the definitive treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle: this they proposed as a previous step to the parliament's forming any opinion concerning the utility or necessity of the peace which had been established: violent debates ensued, in which the opposition was as much excelled in oratory as outnumbered in votes. Such were the material transactions of this session, which in the month of June was closed as usual with a speech from the throne; in which his majesty signified his hope, that the parliament, at their next meeting, would be able to perfect what they had now begun for advancing the trade and navigation of the kingdom: he likewise expressed his satisfaction at seeing public credit flourish at the end of an expensive war; and recommended unanimity as the surest bulwark of national security.

16. While the ministry on some occasions exhibited all the external signs of moderation and good humor, they on others manifested a spirit of jealousy and resentment, which seems to have been childish and illiberal. Two or three young riotous students at Oxford, trained up in prejudice and heated with intemperance, uttered some expressions over

their cups implying their attachment to the family of the pretender: the report of this indiscretion was industriously circulated by certain worthless individuals, who, having no reliance on their own intrinsic merit, hoped to distinguish themselves as the tools of party, and to obtain favor with the ministry by acting as volunteers in the infamous practice of information: though neither the rank, age, nor connexions of the delinquents were such as ought to have attracted the notice of the public, the vice-chancellor, heads of houses, and proctors of the university, knowing the invidious scrutiny to which their conduct was subjected, thought proper to publish a declaration, signifying their abhorrence of all seditious practices, their determined resolution to punish all offenders to the utmost severity and rigor of the statutes, and containing peremptory orders for the regulation of the university: notwithstanding these wise and salutary precautions, the three boys, who in the heat of their intoxication had drunk the pretender's health, were taken into custody by a messenger of state; and two of them being tried in the court of king's-bench, and found guilty, were sentenced to walk through the courts of Westminster, with a specification of their crime fixed to their foreheads; to pay a fine of five nobles each; to be imprisoned for two years, and find security for their good behavior for the term of seven years after their enlargement. Many people thought they saw the proceedings of the star-chamber revived in the severity of this punishment. The administration, not yet satisfied with the vengeance which had been taken on these three striplings, seemed determined to stigmatise the university to which they belonged: the cry of Jacobitism was loudly trumpeted against the whole community: the address of the university, congratulating his majesty on the establishment of the peace, was rejected with disdain, and an attempt was made to subject their statutes to the inspection of the king's council; but this rule, being argued in the court of king's-bench, was dismissed, in consequence of the opinions given by the judges: finally, the same tribunal granted an information against Dr. Purnel, the vice-chancellor, for his behavior in the case of the rioters above-mentioned; but this was countermanded in the sequel, his conduct appearing unexceptionable on a more cool and impartial inquiry.

17. In proportion as Oxford declined, her sister university rose in the favor of the administration, which she at this period cultivated by an extraordinary mark of compliance

and attachment: the dignity of chancellor of the university being vacated by the death of the duke of Somerset, the nation in general seemed to think it would naturally devolve on the prince of Wales, as a compliment at all times due to that rank; but more especially to the then heir-apparent, who had eminently distinguished himself by the virtues of a patriot and a prince: he had even pleased himself with the hope of receiving this mark of attachment from a seminary for which he entertained a particular regard: but the ruling members, seeing no immediate prospect of advantage in glorifying even a prince who was at variance with the ministry, wisely turned their eyes on the illustrious character of the duke of Newcastle, whom they elected without opposition, and installed with great magnificence; learning, poetry, and eloquence joining their efforts in celebrating the shining virtues and extraordinary talents of their new patron.

18. Although opposition lay gasping at the feet of power in the house of commons, the people of England did not yet implicitly approve all the measures of the administration; and the dregs of faction, still agitated by an internal ferment, threw up some ineffectual bubbles in different parts of the kingdom: some of those who made no secret of their disaffection to the reigning family determined to manifest their resentment and contempt of certain noblemen and others, who were said to have abandoned their ancient principles, and to have sacrificed their consciences to their interest: many individuals, animated by the fumes of inebriation, now loudly extolled that cause which they durst not avow when it required their open approbation and assistance; and, though they industriously avoided exposing their lives and fortunes to the chance of war in promoting their favorite interest when there was a possibility of success, they betrayed no apprehensions in celebrating the memory of its last effort, amidst the tumult of a riot and the clamors of intemperance: in the neighborhood of Lichfield the sportsmen of the party appeared in the highland taste of variegated drapery; and their zeal descending to a very extraordinary exhibition of practical ridicule, they hunted, with hounds clothed in plaid, a fox dressed in a red uniform: even the females at their assembly, and the gentlemen at the races, affected to wear the checkered stuff by which the prince-pretender and his followers had been distinguished: divers noblemen on the course were insulted as apostates; and one

personage of high rank is said to have undergone a very disagreeable flagellation.

19. As the public generally suffers at the end of a war, by the sudden dismissal of a great number of soldiers and seamen, who having contracted a habit of idleness, and finding themselves without employment and the means of subsistence, engage in desperate courses, and prey on the community ; it was judged expedient to provide an opening, through which these unquiet spirits might exhale without damage to the commonwealth : the most natural was that of encouraging them to become members of a new colony in North-America, which, by being properly regulated, supported, and improved, might be the source of great advantages to its mother country. Many disputes had arisen between the subjects of England and France concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, which no treaty had as yet properly ascertained : a fort had been raised, and a small garrison maintained, by the king of Great Britain, at a part of this very country, called Annapolis Royal, to overawe the French neutrals settled in the neighborhood ; but this did not answer the purpose for which it was intended : on every rupture or dispute between the two crowns, these planters, forgetting their neutrality, intrigued with the Indians, communicated intelligence to their own countrymen, settled at St. John's and Cape Breton, and did all the ill offices their hatred could suggest against the colonies and subjects of Great Britain. A scheme was now formed for making a new establishment on the same peninsula, which should farther confirm and extend the property and dominion of the crown of Great Britain in that large tract of country, clear the uncultivated grounds, constitute communities, diffuse the benefits of population and agriculture, and improve the fishery of that coast, which might be rendered a new source of wealth and commerce to Old England : the particulars of the plan being duly considered, it was laid before his majesty, who approved of the design, and referred the execution of it to the board of trade and plantations, over which the earl of Halifax presided : this nobleman, endowed by nature with an excellent capacity, which had been diligently and judiciously cultivated ; animated with liberal sentiments, and fired with an eager spirit of patriotism, adopted the plan with the most generous ardor, and cherished the infant colony with paternal affection : the commissioners for trade and plantations immediately ad-

vertised, under the sanction of his majesty's authority, that proper encouragement would be given to such of the officers and private men, lately dismissed from the land and sea service, as were willing to settle, with or without families, in the province of Nova Scotia: that the fee-simple, or perpetual property, of fifty acres of land should be granted to every private soldier or seaman, free from the payment of any quit-rents or taxes for the term of ten years; at the expiration of which no person should pay more than one shilling per annum for every fifty acres so granted: that, over and above these fifty, each person should receive a grant of ten acres for every individual, including women and children, of which his family should consist: that farther grants should be made to them as the number should increase, and in proportion as they should manifest their abilities in agriculture: that every officer, under the rank of ensign in the land service, or lieutenant in the navy, should be gratified with fourscore acres on the same conditions: that 200 acres should be bestowed on ensigns, 300 on lieutenants, 400 on captains, and 600 on every officer above that degree, with proportionable considerations for the number and increase of every family: that the lands should be parcelled out as soon as possible after the arrival of the colonists, and a civil government established, by virtue of which they should enjoy all the liberties and privileges of British subjects, with proper security and protection: that the settlers, with their families, should be conveyed to Nova Scotia, and maintained for twelve months after their arrival at the expense of the government, which should also supply them with arms and ammunition, as far as should be judged necessary for their defence, with proper materials and utensils for clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, exercising the fishery, and such other purposes as should be judged necessary for their support.

20. The scheme was so feasible and the encouragement so inviting, that in a little time about 4000 adventurers, with their families, were entered, according to the directions of the board of trade, who in the beginning of May set sail from England, under the command of colonel Cornwallis, whom the king had appointed their governor; and towards the latter end of June arrived at the place of their destination, which was the harbor of Chebuctou, on the sea-coast of the peninsula, about midway between Cape Canceau and Cape Sable: it is one of the most secure and commodious

havens in the whole world, and well situated for the fishery; yet the climate is cold, the soil barren, and the whole country covered with woods of birch, fir, pine, and some oak, unfit for the purposes of timber, but at the same time extremely difficult to remove and extirpate. Governor Cornwallis no sooner arrived in this harbor, than he was joined by two regiments of infantry from Cape Breton, and a company of rangers from Annapolis: then he pitched on a spot for the settlement, and employed his people in clearing the ground for laying the foundations of a town; but some inconveniences being discovered in this situation, he chose another to the northward, hard by the harbor, on an easy ascent, commanding a prospect of the whole peninsula, and well supplied with rivulets of fresh and wholesome water: here he began to build a town on a regular plan, to which he gave the name of Halifax, in honor of the nobleman who had the greatest share in founding the colony; and before the approach of winter above 300 comfortable wooden houses were built, the whole surrounded by a strong palisade: this colony, however, has by no means answered the sanguine expectations of the projectors; for notwithstanding the ardor with which the interests of it were promoted by its noble patron, and the repeated indulgence it has reaped from the bounty of the legislature, the inhabitants have made little or no progress in agriculture; the fishery is altogether neglected; and the settlement intirely subsists on the sums expended by the individuals of the army and navy, whose duty obliges them to reside in this part of North-America.

21. The establishment of such a powerful colony in Nova Scotia could not fail giving umbrage to the French in that neighborhood, who, though they did not think proper to promulgate their jealousy and disgust, nevertheless employed their emissaries clandestinely in stimulating and exciting the Indians to harass the colonists with hostilities, in such a manner as should effectually hinder them from extending their plantations, and perhaps induce them to abandon the settlement: nor was this the only part of America in which the French court countenanced such perfidious practices: more than ever convinced of the importance of a considerable navy, and an extensive plantation-trade, they not only exerted uncommon industry in re-establishing their marine, which had suffered so severely during the war; but they resolved, if possible, to extend their plantations in the West-Indies, by settling the neutral islands, which we have already

mentioned. In the beginning of the year the governor of Barbadoes, having received intelligence that the French had begun to settle the island of Tobago, sent captain Tyrrel thither in a frigate to learn the particulars: that officer found above 300 men already landed, secured by two batteries and two ships of war, and in daily expectation of a farther reinforcement from the marquis de Caylus, governor of Martinique, who had published an ordonnance, authorising the subjects of the French king to settle the island of Tobago, and promising to defend them from the attempts of all their enemies: this assurance was in answer to a proclamation issued by Mr. Grenville, governor of Barbadoes, and stuck up in the different parts of the island, commanding all the inhabitants to remove, in thirty days, on pain of undergoing military execution. Captain Tyrrel, with a spirit that became a commander in the British navy, gave the French officers to understand that his most christian majesty had no right to settle the island, which was declared neutral by treaties; and that if they would not desist, he should be obliged to employ force in driving them from their new settlement: night coming on, and Mr. Tyrrel's ship falling to leeward, the French captains seized that opportunity of sailing to Martinique; and next day the English commander returned to Barbadoes, having no power to commit hostilities. These tidings, with a copy of the French governor's ordonnance, were no sooner transmitted to the ministry, than they despatched a courier to the English envoy at Paris, with directions to make representations to the court of Versailles on this subject: the ministry of France, knowing they were in no condition to support the consequences of an immediate rupture, and understanding how much the merchants and people of Great Britain were alarmed and incensed at their attempts to possess these islands, thought proper to disown the proceedings of the marquis de Caylus, and to grant the satisfaction that was demanded, by sending him orders to discontinue the settlement, and evacuate the island of Tobago: at the same time, however, that the court of Versailles made this sacrifice for the satisfaction of England, the marquis de Puysieux, the French minister, observed to the English resident that France was undoubtedly in possession of that island towards the middle of the last century: he ought in candor to have added, that although Louis XIV. made a conquest of this island from the Hollanders during his war with that republic, it was restored to them by the treaty of Nimeguen,

and since that time France could not have the least shadow of a claim to number it among her settlements. It was before this answer could be obtained from the court of Versailles, that the motion, of which we have already taken notice, was made in the house of commons, relating to the subject of the neutral islands ; a motion discouraged by the court, and defeated by the majority.

22. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was celebrated by fireworks, illuminations, and rejoicings, in which the English, French, and Dutch seemed to display a spirit of emulation in point of taste and magnificence ; and in all probability these three powers were sincerely pleased at the cessation of the war : England enjoyed a respite from intolerable supplies, exorbitant insurance, and interrupted commerce ; Holland was delivered from the brink of a French invasion ; and France had obtained a breathing time for re-establishing her naval power ; for exerting that spirit of intrigue, by dint of which she has often embroiled her neighbors ; and for executing plans of insensible encroachment, which might prove more advantageous than the progress of open hostilities. In the affair of Tobago the French king had manifested his inclination to avoid immediate disputes with England ; and had exhibited another proof of the same disposition in his behavior to the prince-pretender, who had excited such a dangerous rebellion in the island of Great Britain.

23. Among those princes and powers who excepted against different articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the chevalier de St. George, foreseeing that none of the plenipotentiaries would receive his protest, employed his agents to fix it up in the public places of Aix-la-Chapelle ; a precaution of very little service to his cause, which all the states of christendom seemed now to have abandoned : so little was the interest of his family considered in this negotiation, that the contracting powers agreed, without reserve, to a literal insertion of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, by which it was stipulated that neither the pretender nor any of his descendants should be allowed to reside within the territories belonging to any of the subscribing parties : at the same time the plenipotentiaries of France promised to those of Great Britain, that prince Charles Edward should be immediately obliged to quit the dominions of his most christian majesty : notice of this agreement was accordingly given by the court of Versailles

to the young adventurer ; and as he had declared he would never return to Italy, M. de Courteille, the French envoy to the cantons of Switzerland, was directed by his sovereign to demand an asylum for prince Edward in the city of Friburg : the regency having complied in this particular with the earnest request of his most christian majesty, Mr. Barnaby, the British minister to the Helvetic body, took the alarm, and presented the magistracy of Friburg with a remonstrance, couched in such terms as gave offence to that regency, and drew on him a severe answer : in vain had the French king exerted his influence in procuring this retreat for the young pretender, who, being pressed with repeated messages to withdraw, persisted in refusing to quit the place, to which he had been so cordially invited by his cousin the king of France, and where he said that monarch had solemnly promised, on the word of a king, that he would never forsake him in his distress, nor abandon the interests of his family. Louis was not a little perplexed at this obstinacy of prince Edward, which was the more vexatious, as that youth appeared to be the darling of the Parisians, who not only admired him for his own accomplishments, and pitied him for his sufferings, but also revered him, as a young hero lineally descended from their renowned Henry IV. : at length, the two English noblemen arriving at Paris as hostages for the performance of the treaty, and seeing him appear at all public places of diversion, complained of this circumstance, as an insult to their sovereign, and an infringement of the treaty so lately concluded : the French king, after some hesitation between punctilio and convenience, resolved to employ violence on the person of this troublesome stranger, since milder remonstrances had not been able to influence his conduct ; but this resolution was not taken till the return of a courier whom he despatched to the chevalier de St. George, who being thus informed of his son's deportment, wrote a letter to him, laying strong injunctions on him to yield to the necessity of the times, and acquiesce with a good grace in the stipulations which his cousin of France had found it necessary to subscribe for the interest of his realm : Edward, far from complying with this advice and injunction, signified his resolution to remain in Paris ; and even declared that he would pistol any man who should presume to lay violent hands on his person : in consequence of this bold declaration, an extraordinary council was held at Versailles, when it was determined to arrest him without

farther delay, and the whole plan of this enterprise was finally adjusted: that same evening, the prince entering the narrow lane that leads to the opera, the barrier was immediately shut, and the sergeant of the guard called 'to arms!' on which M. de Vaudreuil, exempt of the French guards, advancing to Edward;—'Prince,' said he, 'I arrest you in the king's name, by virtue of this order.' At that instant the youth was surrounded by four grenadiers, in order to prevent any mischief he might have done with a case of pocket pistols which he always carried about him; and a guard was placed at all the avenues and doors of the opera-house, lest any tumult should have ensued among the populace: these precautions being taken, Vaudreuil, with an escort, conducted the prisoner through the garden of the Palais Royal to a house where the duke de Biron waited with a coach and six to convey him to the castle of Vincennes, whither he was immediately accompanied by a detachment from the regiment of French guards, under the command of that nobleman: he had not remained above three days in his confinement, when he gave the French ministry to understand that he would conform himself to the king's intentions; and was immediately enlarged on giving his word and honor that he would without delay retire from the dominions of France: accordingly, he set out in four days from Fontainebleau, attended by three officers who conducted him as far as Pont-Bauvosin on the frontiers, where they took their leave of him, and returned to Versailles: he proceeded for some time in the road to Chambery; but soon returned into the French dominions, and, passing through Dauphiny, repaired to Avignon, where he was received with extraordinary honors by the pope's legate: in the mean time, his arrest excited great murmurings at Paris; the inhabitants blaming, without scruple, their king's conduct in this instance, as a scandalous breach of hospitality, as well as a mean proof of condescension to the king of England; and many severe pasquinades, relating to this transaction, were fixed up in the most public places of that metropolis.

24. Although peace was now re-established among the principal powers of the continent, yet another storm seemed ready to burst on the northern parts of Europe, in a fresh rupture between Russia and Sweden: whether the czarina had actually obtained information that the French faction meditated some revolution of government at Stockholm, or

she wanted a pretence for annexing Finland to her empire ; certain it is, she affected to apprehend that the prince-successor of Sweden waited only for the decease of the reigning king, who was very old and infirm, to change the form of government, and resume that absolute authority which some of the monarchs, his predecessors, had enjoyed : she seemed to think that a prince thus vested with arbitrary power, and guided by the councils of France and Prussia, with which Sweden had lately engaged in close alliance, might become a very troublesome and dangerous neighbor to her in the Baltic ; she therefore recruited her armies, repaired her fortifications, filled her magazines, ordered a strong body of troops to advance towards the frontiers of Finland, and declared in plain terms to the court of Stockholm, that if any step should be taken to alter the government, which she had bound herself by treaty to maintain, her troops should enter the territory of Sweden, and she would act up to the spirit of her engagements : the Swedish ministry, alarmed at these peremptory proceedings, had recourse to their allies ; and in the mean time made repeated declarations to the court of Petersburg, that there was no design to make the least innovation in the nature of their established government : but little or no regard being paid to these representations, they began to put the kingdom in a posture of defence ; and the old king gave the czarina to understand, that if, notwithstanding the satisfaction he had offered, her forces should pass the frontiers of Finland, he would consider their march as an hostile invasion, and employ the means which God had put in his power for the defence of his dominions.

25. This declaration in all probability did not produce such effect as the interposition of his Prussian majesty, the most enterprising prince of his time, at the head of 140,000 of the best troops that Germany ever trained : perhaps he was not sorry that the empress of Muscovy furnished him with a plausible pretence for maintaining such a formidable army, after the peace of Europe had been ascertained by a formal treaty, and all the surrounding states had diminished the number of their forces : he now wrote a letter to his uncle, the king of Great Britain, complaining of the insults and menaces which had been offered by the czarina to Sweden ; declaring, that he was bound by a defensive alliance, to which France had acceded, to defend the government at present established in Sweden ; and that he would

not sit still, and tamely see that kingdom attacked by any power whatsoever without acting up to his engagements: he therefore entreated his Britannic majesty to interpose his good offices, in conjunction with France and him, to compromise the disputes which threatened to embroil the northern parts of Europe. By this time the Russian army had approached the frontiers of Finland; the Swedes had assembled their troops, replenished their magazines, and repaired their marine; and the king of Denmark, jealous of the czarina's designs with regard to the duchy of Sleswick, which was contested with him by the prince-successor of Russia, kept his army and navy on the most respectable footing: at this critical juncture the courts of London, Versailles, and Berlin co-operated so effectually by remonstrances and declarations at Petersburg and Stockholm, that the empress of Russia thought proper to own herself satisfied, and all those clouds of trouble were immediately dispersed: yet in all probability her real aim was disappointed; and, however she might dissemble her sentiments, she never heartily forgave the king of Prussia for the share he had in this transaction: that monarch, without relaxing in his attention to the support of a very formidable military power, exerted very extraordinary endeavors in cultivating the civil interests of his country: he reformed the laws of Brandenburg, and rescued the administration of justice from the frauds of chicanery: he encouraged the arts of agriculture and manufacture; and even laid the foundation of naval commerce, by establishing an East-India company in the port of Emden.

26. Nor did the French ministry neglect any measure that might contribute to repair the damage which the kingdom had sustained in the course of the war: one half of the army was disbanded; the severe imposition of the tenth penny was suspended by the king's edict; a scheme of economy was proposed with respect to the finances; and the utmost diligence used in procuring materials as well as workmen for ship-building, that the navy of France might speedily retrieve its former importance. In the midst of these truly patriotic schemes, the court of Versailles betrayed a littleness of genius and spirit of tyranny, joined to fanaticism, in quarrelling with their parliament about superstitious forms of religion: the sacraments had been denied to a certain person on his death-bed, because he refused to subscribe to the bull *Unigenitus*: the nephew of the defunct preferred a complaint

to the parliament, whose province it was to take cognisance of the affair; a deputation of that body attended the king with the report of the resolutions; and his majesty commanded them to suspend all proceedings relating to a matter of such consequence, concerning which he would take an opportunity of signifying his royal pleasure: this interposition was the source of disputes between the crown and parliament, which had like to have filled the whole kingdom with intestine troubles.

27. At Vienna the empress-queen was not more solicitous in promoting the trade and internal manufactures of her dominions by sumptuary regulations, necessary restrictions on foreign superfluities, by opening her ports in the Adriatic, and giving proper encouragement to commerce, than she was careful and provident in reforming the economy of her finances, maintaining a respectable body of forces, and guarding by defensive alliances against the enterprises of his Prussian majesty, on whose military power she looked with jealousy and distrust. In Holland, all the authority and influence of the stadtholder were scarcely sufficient to allay the ferments excited among the people by the provisional taxation which had succeeded the abolition of the pachters, and was indeed very grievous to the subject: as this was no more than a temporary expedient, the prince of Orange proposed a more equitable plan, which was approved by the states, and established with great difficulty. In Italy the system of politics seemed to change its complexion: the king of Sardinia effected a match between one of the infantas of Spain and the prince of Piedmont; and, whether irritated by the conduct of the Austrians in the last war, or apprehensive of such a powerful neighbor in the Milanese, he engaged with the kings of France and Spain in a defensive alliance, comprehending the king of the two Sicilies, the republic of Genoa, and the dukes of Modena and Parma. His most catholic majesty, sincerely disposed to cultivate the arts of peace and encourage every measure that could contribute to the advantage of his country, was no sooner released from the embarrassments of war, than he began to execute plans of internal economy; to reduce unnecessary pensions, discharge the debts contracted in the war, replenish his arsenals, augment his navy, promote manufactures, and encourage an active commerce by sea, the benefits of which the kingdom of Spain had not known since the first discovery and conquest of the West-Indies.

28. The preparations for refitting and increasing the navy of Spain were carried on with such extraordinary vigor, that other nations believed an expedition was intended against the corsairs of Algiers, who had for some time grievously infested the trade and coasts of the Mediterranean: the existence of this and other predatory republics, which intirely subsist on piracy and rapine; petty states of barbarous ruffians, maintained as it were in the midst of powerful nations, which they insult with impunity, and of which they even exact an annual contribution, is a flagrant reproach on christendom; a reproach the greater, as it is founded on a low, selfish, illiberal maxim of policy: all the powers that border on the Mediterranean, except France and Tuscany, are at perpetual war with the Moors of Barbary, and for that reason obliged to employ foreign ships for the transportation of their merchandise: this employment naturally devolves to those nations, whose vessels are in no danger from the depredations of the barbarians; namely, the subjects of the maritime powers, who for this puny advantage not only tolerate the piratical states of Barbary, but even supply them with arms and ammunition, solicit their passes, and purchase their forbearance with annual presents, which are in effect equivalent to a tribute; whereas, by one vigorous exertion of their power, they might destroy all their ships, lay their towns in ashes, and totally extirpate those pernicious broods of desperate banditti: even all the condescension of those who disgrace themselves with the title of allies to these miscreants is not always sufficient to restrain them from acts of cruelty and rapine: at this very period four cruisers from Algiers made a capture of an English packet-boat in her voyage from Lisbon, and conveyed her to their city, where she was plundered of money and effects to the amount of £100,000, and afterwards dismissed: in consequence of this outrage, commodore Keppel was sent with seven ships of war to demand satisfaction, as well as to compromise certain differences which had arisen on account of arrears claimed of the English by the dey of Algiers: the Mussulman frankly owned, that the money, having been divided among the captors, could not possibly be refunded: the commodore returned to Gibraltar; and in the sequel, an Algerine ambassador arrived in London, with some presents of wild beasts for his Britannic majesty. This transaction was succeeded by another injurious affront offered by the governor or alcaid of Tetuan to Mr. Latton, an English am-

bassador, sent thither to redeem the British subjects, who had been many years enslaved in the dominions of the king of Morocco: a revolution having lately happened in this empire, Muley Abdallah, the reigning ruffian, insisted on the ambassador's paying a pretended balance for the ransom of the captives, as well as depositing a considerable sum which had already been paid to a deceased bashaw; alleging, that as he, the emperor, received no part of it, the payment was illegal: Mr. Latton refusing to comply with this arbitrary demand, his house was surrounded by a detachment of soldiers, who violently dragged his secretary from his presence, and threw him into a dismal subterranean dungeon, where he continued twenty days: the English slaves, to the number of twenty-seven, were condemned to the same fate; the ambassador himself was degraded from his character, deprived of his allowance, and sequestered from all communication: all the letters directed to him were intercepted, and interpreted to the alcaid; two negro porters were entrusted with the keys of all his apartments, and a couple of soldiers posted at his chamber-door; nay, this Moorish governor threatened to load him with irons, and violently seized part of the presents designed by his Britannic majesty for the emperor: at length, finding that neither Mr. Latton nor the governor of Gibraltar, to whom he had written, would deposit the money without fresh instructions from the court of London, the barbarian thought proper to relax in his severity; the prisoners were enlarged; the restrictions removed from the person of the ambassador; and, after all these indignities offered to the honor of the British nation, the balance was paid, and the affair quietly adjusted.

29. Britain, in the mean while, was altogether barren of events which might deserve a place in a general history: commerce and manufactures flourished again to such a degree of increase as had never been known in the island; but this advantage was attended with an irresistible tide of luxury and excess, which flowed through all degrees of the people, breaking down all the mounds of civil polity, and opening a way for license and immorality: the highways were infested with rapine and assassination; the cities teemed with the brutal votaries of lewdness, intemperance, and profligacy; the whole land was overspread with a succession of tumult, riot, and insurrection, excited in different parts of the kingdom by the erection of new turnpikes, which the

legislature judged necessary for the convenience of inland carriage: in order to quell these disturbances, recourse was had to the military power; several individuals were slain, and some were executed as examples.

30. In the month of November the session of parliament was opened with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed a particular pleasure in meeting them at a time when the perfect re-establishment of a general peace had restored to his people the blessings of quiet and tranquillity: he said, the good effects of these already appeared in the flourishing condition of national commerce, and in the rise of public credit, which were the foundations of strength and prosperity to these kingdoms: he declared, that during the summer he had used every opportunity of cementing and securing the peace; that it was his firm resolution to do every thing in his power for the preservation of it, and religiously adhere to the engagements into which he had entered; finally, he took notice of the good disposition he had found in the other contracting parties to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to cherish the public tranquillity of Europe; and he earnestly recommended to the two houses the maintenance of a strong naval power, as the bulwark of national security.

31. When the motion was made for an address of thanks in the house of commons, the first paragraph of his majesty's speech furnished the opposition with a handle to declaim against the late treaty. Sir John Hynde Cotton observed, that the peace could not be properly styled complete, as nothing had been stipulated with respect to the article of 'no search,' alluding to the interruption our commerce had sustained from the Spaniards in the West-Indies;—a stipulation, without which both houses of parliament had formerly voted that there should be no peace with that kingdom: in the present conjuncture of affairs, such an objection savored rather of party than of patriotism; and indeed Sir John declared, that the remarks he made on the occasion were rather in discharge of the duty he owed to his country than in hope of seeing his sentiments espoused by the majority: some sharp altercation was used in the debate which arose on this subject; and many severe invectives were levelled at those who negotiated, as well as at those who approved and confirmed the treaty; but Mr. Pelham, who sustained the whole weight of the debate on the side of administration, answered every objection with equal candor and

ability; and if he failed in proving that the terms of peace were as favorable as could be expected, considering the unfortunate events of the war and the situation of the contending powers, he at least demonstrated that it would be the interest of the kingdom to acquiesce for the present in the treaty which had been concluded, and endeavor to remedy its imperfections by subsequent conventions, amicably opened among those powers between whom any cause of dispute remained: with respect to the vote of both houses, mentioned by Sir John Hynde Cotton, he declared that he had never approved of that step when it was first taken; or, if he had, times and circumstances, which could not be foreseen, would have justified his deviating from it in the re-establishment of peace: he reminded them, that a parliament of Great Britain had once voted no peace while any part of the West-Indies should remain in possession of the Spanish king; yet a train of incidents, which they could not possibly foresee, afterwards rendered it expedient to adopt a peace, without insisting on the accomplishment of that condition: in a word, we must own, that in the majority of debates excited in the course of this session, [1749.] the ministry derived their triumphs from the force of reason as well as from the weight of influence. We shall always, however, except the efforts that were made for reducing the number of land forces to 15,000, and maintaining a greater number of seamen than the ministry proposed: on these constitutional points, the earl of Egmont and the other chiefs of the opposition expatiated with all the energy of eloquence, which, however, was frustrated by the power of superior numbers: 10,000 seamen were voted for the service of the ensuing year, notwithstanding his majesty's injunction to maintain a considerable navy; and the number of land forces was continued at 18,857: the sums granted for making good his majesty's engagements with the electors of Bavaria and Mentz, and the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, amounted to £53,225 sterling: the services done by the colonies in North-America during the war were gratified with the sum of £122,246: the expense incurred by the new colony of Nova Scotia exceeded £76,000: a small sum was voted for the improvement of Georgia; and £10,000 were granted towards the support of the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa. The sum total granted in this session arose to £4,141,661. 9s. 11½d. to be raised by the land-tax, at three shillings in the pound; the malt, and other duties; the surplus of divers impositions

remaining in the Bank and exchequer; £1,000,000 by annuities, at three per cent. charged on the sinking-fund, until redeemed by parliament; and £900,000 out of the excess or overplus of moneys denominated the sinking-fund.

32. But the capital measure which distinguished this session of parliament was the reduction of the interest on the public funds; a scheme which was planned and executed by the minister without any national disturbance or disquiet, to the astonishment of all Europe; the different nations of which could not comprehend how it would be possible for the government, at the close of a long and expensive war, which had so considerably drained the country, and augmented the enormous burden of national debt, to find money for paying off such of the public creditors as might choose to receive the principal rather than submit to a reduction of the interest: it was not very much for the honor of the opposition, that some of its leading members endeavored to impede this great machine of civil economy, by taking opportunities of affirming in parliament, in opposition to his majesty's speech, that the nation, far from being in a flourishing condition, was almost intirely exhausted; that commerce drooped and declined; that public credit stood tottering on the brink of ruin; and that all the treaties lately concluded among the different powers of Europe were in effect disadvantageous and prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain. In answer to these assertions, Mr. Pelham undertook to prove, from the register of exports and imports, that the commerce of the kingdom was more extensive at this than at any former period; and that the public credit was strong enough to admit of an experiment, which he would not presume to hazard, except on a moral certainty of its being firmly rooted, beyond the power of accident and faction to shake or overturn: he declared, that his design of reducing the interest on the funds was the result of the love he bore his country, and an opinion that it was the duty of the servants of the crown to ease the burdens of the people: he said, he had conferred on this subject with persons of the most approved knowlege and undoubted experience; and chose to promulgate the method proposed for alleviating the load of the national debt, that the public, in knowing the particulars of the scheme, might have time to consider them at leisure, and start such objections as should occur to their reflection, before it might be too late to adopt amendments: he observed, that nothing could more clearly demonstrate

the vigor of public credit, and the augmentation of national commerce, than the price of stock, which had within three years risen to a very considerable increase; and the duties on imports, which in nine months had added £1,000,000 to the sinking-fund, notwithstanding a very extraordinary sum which had been paid as bounties for exported corn: he expressed great tenderness and regard for the interests of those who had advanced their money for the service of the government; declaring, that his aim was to contrive a fair, honest, and equitable method for lessening the national encumbrances, by lowering the interest, conformable to parliamentary faith, and agreeable to the rules of eternal justice. His plan was accordingly communicated, canvassed, and approved in the house of commons, and an act passed for reducing the interest of the funds which constitute the national debt:²⁰ in pursuance of this act for the reduction of the interest, the greater part of the creditors complied

²⁰ The resolutions of the commons on this head were printed by authority in the London Gazette, signifying, that those who were or should be proprietors of any part of the public debt, redeemable by law, incurred before Michaelmas, 1749, carrying an interest of four per cent. per annum, who should, on or before the twenty-eighth of February in that year, subscribe their names, signifying their consent to accept of an interest of three per cent. to commence from the twenty-fifth of December, 1757, subject to the same provisions, notices, and clauses of redemption, to which their respective sums at four per cent. were then liable, should, in lieu of their present interest, be entitled to four per cent. till the twenty-fifth of December, 1750; and after that day, to three pounds ten shillings per cent. per annum, till the twenty-fifth of December, 1757; and no part of that debt, except what was due to the East-India company, should be redeemable to this period: that if any part of the national debt, incurred before last Michaelmas, redeemable by law, and carrying an interest of four per cent. should remain unsubscribed on or before the thirtieth of May, the government should pay off the principal: for this purpose his majesty was enabled to borrow of any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, any sum or sums of money not exceeding that part of the national debt which might remain unsubscribed, to be charged on the sinking-fund, on any terms not exceeding the rate of interest in the foregoing proposal. All the duties appropriated to the payment of the interest were still continued, and the surplus of these incorporated with the sinking-fund for the discharge of the principal: books were opened for the subscription at the exchequer, the bank of England, and the South-Sea house; and copies of these resolutions transmitted to the directors of all the moneyed corporations.

with the terms proposed, and subscribed their respective annuities before the end of February; but the three great companies at first kept aloof, and refused to subscribe any part of their capital.

33. About the middle of March, 1750, the commons ordered the proper officers to lay before them an account of the sums which had been subscribed, and these were taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house: it was then that Mr. Pelham, as chancellor of the exchequer, observed, that besides the debts due to the three great companies in their corporate capacity, all the rest, carrying four per cent. interest, had been subscribed, except about £8,000,000 or £9,000,000, the proprietors of which had forfeited the favor designed them by parliament; but as many of these had been misled by evil counsellors, who perhaps were more intent on distressing the government than solicitous to serve their friends; and as many were foreigners, residing beyond sea, who had not time to take proper advice and give the necessary instructions; and as these could not possibly be distinguished from such as refused to subscribe from mere obstinacy or disaffection, it might be thought cruel to take the most rigorous advantage of the forfeiture they had incurred: with respect to the proprietors of the stock or capital belonging to the three great companies, he asserted, that many of them would willingly have subscribed their properties within the time limited, but were necessarily excluded by the majority on the ballot; and as it was equally impossible to know those who were against the question on the ballot, he thought that some tenderness was due even to the proprietors of those three companies: his opinion therefore was, that they and the uncomplying annuitants should be indulged with farther time to complete their subscription; but, in order to preserve the authority of parliament and the respect due to that august assembly, they ought not to be gratified with such advantageous terms as were allowed to the annuitants who at first cheerfully complied with the proposals offered by the legislature: for these reasons he proposed, that although the term of subscribing should be protracted till the thirtieth of May, the encouragement of three pounds ten shillings per cent. per annum should not be continued to the second subscribers longer than till the fifth of December, 1765. The proposal being approved, a bill was framed for this purpose, as well as for redeeming such annuities as should not be

subscribed, which passed through both houses, and was enacted into a law, after having received an additional clause, empowering the East-India company, in case they should subscribe all their stock bearing an interest of four per cent. to borrow, with the consent of the treasury, any sums not exceeding £4,200,000, after the several rates of interest before proposed to be paid by the public, and £1,000,000 more at three per cent. per annum : they were also vested with a power to raise money by bonds, as formerly ; yet so as the whole, including the annuities, should not exceed what they were by former acts empowered to borrow : the objections to the execution of this project, which by many were deemed insurmountable, intirely vanished before the fortitude, perseverance, and caution of the minister, who had secured among the moneyed men of the nation the promise of such sums as would have been sufficient to pay off the capital belonging to those creditors who might refuse to accept the interest thus reduced. The second subscription had the desired effect : the three great companies acquiesced, and their example was followed by the other scrupulous annuitants ; the national burden was comfortably lightened, and the sinking-fund considerably increased, without producing the least perplexity or disturbance in the commonwealth ; a circumstance, that could not fail to excite the admiration and envy of all christendom.

34. The mutiny-bill for the ensuing year was mitigated with an essential alteration, relating to the oath of secrecy imposed on the members of every court-martial, who were now released from this reserve, if required to give evidence by due course of law in any court of judicature ; and, whereas, by the former mutiny-bill, a general was empowered to order the revisal of any sentence by a court-martial as often as he pleased, and on that pretence to keep in confinement a man who had been acquitted on a fair trial, it was now enacted, that no sentence pronounced by any court-martial, and signed by the president, should be more than once liable to revisal. Colonel George Townshend, son of lord viscount Townshend, who had equally distinguished himself by his civil and military accomplishments, proposed another clause, for preventing any non-commissioned officer being broken or reduced into the ranks, or any soldier being punished, but by the sentence of a court-martial : he gave the house to understand, that certain persons attended at the door, who from

the station of non-commissioned officers had been broken and reduced into the ranks, without trial, or any cause assigned; and he expatiated, not only on the iniquity of such proceedings, but also on the danger of leaving such arbitrary power in the hands of an individual officer. A warm debate was the consequence of this motion, which, however, was over-ruled by the majority.

35. Among other regulations made in the course of this session for the encouragement of the British manufactures, a large duty was laid on Irish sail-cloth, which being sold at an under price, was found to interfere with the same species of commodity fabricated in the island of Great Britain; and, for the farther benefit of this last, the bounty on the exportation of it, which had been deducted from a defective fund, was now made payable out of the customs: this measure, however, was not of such importance to the nation as the act which they passed for encouraging the importation of pig and bar-iron from the British colonies in North-America. Every well-wisher to his country reflected with concern on the nature of the British trade with Sweden, from which kingdom the subjects of his Britannic majesty imported more iron and steel than all the other countries in Europe: for this article they paid a very great balance in ready money, which the Swedes again expended in purchasing from the French and other mercantile powers those necessities and superfluities, with which they might have been as cheaply furnished by Great Britain: in the mean time, the English colonies in America were restricted by severe duties from making advantage of their own produce; in exchanging their iron for such commodities as they were under the necessity of procuring from their mother-country: such restriction was not only a cruel grievance on our own settlements, but also attended with manifest prejudice to the interest of Great Britain, annually drained of great sums, in favor of an ungrateful nation, from which no part of them returned; whereas the iron imported from America must of necessity come in exchange for our own manufactures. The commons, having appointed a day for taking this affair into consideration, carefully examined into the state of the British commerce carried on with Sweden, as well as into the accounts of iron imported from the plantations in America; and a committee of the whole house having resolved that the duties on American pig and bar-iron should be removed, a bill was brought

in for that purpose,¹ containing a clause, however, to prevent his majesty's subjects from making steel, and establishing

¹ The most remarkable circumstance attending the progress of this bill, which made its way through both houses, and obtained the royal assent, was the number of contradictory petitions in favor and in prejudice of it, while it remained under consideration. The tanners of leather, in and about the town of Sheffield in Yorkshire, represented, that if the bill should pass, the English iron would be undersold; consequently a great number of furnaces and forges would be discontinued: in that case the woods used for fuel would stand uncut, and the tanners be deprived of oak-bark sufficient for the continuance and support of their occupation: they nevertheless owned, that should the duty be removed from pig-iron only, no such consequences could be apprehended; because, should the number of furnaces be lessened, that of forges would be increased: this was likewise the plea urged in divers remonstrances by masters of iron-works, gentlemen, and freeholders, who had tracts of woodland in their possession. The owners, proprietors, and farmers of furnaces and iron forges, belonging to Sheffield and its neighborhood, enlarged on the great expense they had incurred in erecting and supporting iron-works, by means of which great numbers of his majesty's subjects were comfortably supported: they expressed their apprehension, that should the bill pass into a law, it could not in any degree lessen the consumption of Swedish iron, which was used for purposes which neither the American nor British iron would answer; but that the proposed encouragement, considering the plenty and cheapness of wood in America, would enable the colonies to undersell the British iron, a branch of traffic which would be totally destroyed, to the ruin of many thousand laborers, who would be compelled to seek their livelihood in foreign countries: they likewise suggested, that if all the iron manufactures of Great Britain should be obliged to depend on a supply of iron from the plantations, which must ever be rendered precarious by the hazard of the seas and the enemy, the manufactures would probably decay for want of materials, and many thousand families be reduced to want and misery. On the other hand, the ironmongers and smiths belonging to the flourishing town of Birmingham in Warwickshire, presented a petition, declaring, that the bill would be of great benefit to the trade of the nation, as it would enable the colonists to make larger returns of their own produce, and encourage them to take a greater quantity of the British manufactures: they affirmed, that all the iron-works in the island of Great Britain did not supply half the quantity of that metal sufficient to carry on the manufacture; that if this deficiency could be supplied from the colonies in America, the importation would cease, and considerable sums of money be saved to the nation: they observed, that the importation of iron from America could no more affect the iron-works and freeholders of the kingdom than the like quantity imported from any other country; but they prayed that the people

mills for slitting and rolling iron within the British colonies of America ; this precaution being taken, that the colonists might not interfere with the manufactures of their mother-country.

36. The next commercial improvement, of which we shall take notice, was the bill for the encouragement of the British white herring and cod-fisheries : this was likewise the result of mature deliberation, importing, that a bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be granted and paid out of the customs, to all new vessels from twenty to fourscore tons burden, which should be built for that purpose, and actually employed in the fishery : that a society should be incorporated, under the name of the Free British Fishery, by a charter, not exclusive, with power to raise a capital not exceeding £500,000 ; and that three pounds ten shillings per cent. per annum should be granted and paid out of the customs to the proprietors for fourteen years, for so much of the capital as should be actually employed in the said fisheries : corresponding chambers were proposed to be erected in remote parts of North-Britain, for taking in subscriptions, and prosecuting the trade, under the directions of the company at London ; and the nation in general seemed eager to dispute this branch of commerce with the subjects of Holland, whom they considered as ungrateful interlopers : in the house of peers, however, the bill met with a formidable opposition from the earl of Winchelsea and lord Sandys, who justly observed, that it was a crude, indigested scheme, which in the execution would never answer the expectations of the people ; that in contending with the Dutch, who are the patterns of unwearied industry and the most rigid economy, nothing could be more absurd than a joint-stock company, which is always clogged with extraordinary expense ; and the resolution of fitting out vessels at the port of London, where all sorts of materials, labor, and seamen are so much dearer than in any other part of the

of America might be restrained from erecting slitting or rolling-mills, or forges for plating iron, as they would interfere with the manufactures of Great Britain. Many remonstrances to the same effect were presented from different parts of the kingdom ; and it appeared, on the most exact inquiry, that the encouragement of American iron would prove extremely beneficial to the kingdom, as it had been found, on trial, applicable to all the uses of Swedish iron, and as good in every respect as the produce of that country.

united kingdom, exclusive of the great distance and dangerous voyage between the metropolis and the Sound of Brassa in Shetland, the rendezvous at which all the herring busses were to assemble in the beginning of the fishing season : they likewise took notice of the heavy duty on salt used in curing the fish for sale, and the beef for provision to the mariners ; a circumstance of itself sufficient to discourage adventurers from embarking in a commerce, which at best yields but very slender profits to the trade in particular, how important soever it might prove to the community in general : these objections were answered by the duke of Argyle and earl Granville, who seemed to think that this branch of trade could not be fairly set on foot without such a considerable sum of money as no single individual would care to advance ; that a joint-stock company would be able to prosecute the fishery at a smaller expense than that which particular traders must necessarily incur ; that the present spirit of the nation, which was eagerly bent on trying the experiment, ought not to be balked by delay, lest it should evaporate ; and that though the plan was not unexceptionable, the defects of it might in the sequel be remedied by the legislature : in a word, the bill was adopted by the majority, with a small amendment in the title, which produced some disquiets in the lower house ; but this dispute was compromised, and it was enacted into a law towards the close of the session. Nothing could be more agreeable to the public than the sanction of the legislature to this favorite plan, which was ardently promoted, and patronised by men of the greatest eminence for wealth and popularity : the company chose for their governor the prince of Wales, who received this proof of their attachment and respect with particular marks of satisfaction ; the president and vice-president were both aldermen of London ; and the council was composed of thirty gentlemen, the majority of whom were members of parliament. Great pains were taken, and some artifice was used, to learn the Dutch method of curing the fish : people crowded with their subscriptions ; a number of hands were employed in building and equipping the busses or vessels used in the fishery ; and the most favorable consequences were expected from the general vigor and alacrity which animated these preparations : but the success did not gratify the sanguine hopes of the projectors and adventurers ; the objections made in the house of lords soon appeared to have been well founded : these co-operating with mismanagement

in the directors, the spirit of the company began to flag, the natural consequences of commercial disappointment; and now the British fishery seems to languish under the neglect of the legislature.

37. Touching the trade to the coast of Africa, petitions were renewed by the company and its creditors, the merchants of Bristol, Liverpool, and Lancaster; and a remonstrance was presented by the planters and merchants interested in the British sugar settlements in America: but the commons adhered to their former resolutions of laying open the trade, maintaining the forts at the public expense, and regulating the commerce by a committee of merchants, representing the chief trading towns in the kingdom, to be superintended by the board of trade and plantations: the bill was accordingly framed and presented; and, having proceeded through both houses without opposition, obtained the royal assent. Over and above these wise, salutary, and patriotic measures for the improvement of commerce, they encouraged the importation of raw silk by an act, reducing the duties formerly payable on that which was the growth of China to the same that is raised on the raw silk from Italy, and allowing the same drawback on the exportation of the one which had been usually granted on the other: a second bill was brought in for the encouragement of the growth and culture of silk in Carolina and Georgia, where it had been lately produced with extraordinary success, by freeing from all duties that which should be imported from his majesty's dominions in America; and a third was framed, permitting raw silk of the growth or produce of Persia, purchased in Russia, to be imported into Great Britain from any port or place belonging to the empire of Russia: divers efforts were made by different members in the opposition to rectify certain abuses in the army and administration; some bills were brought in, and several petitions were left on the table; but all of them proved abortive, from the power and influence of the minister, who seemed resolved that no benefit should flow on the nation through any channel but his own: nevertheless, it must be acknowledged, for the honor of his memory, that there is no session on record so productive as this was of measures advantageous to the community.

38. The people, however, were not intirely satisfied with the conduct of the administration, if we may judge from the ferment and commotions raised during the progress of an election for a citizen to represent the city of Westminster in

parliament. The seat which had been filled by lord Trentham, eldest son of earl Gower, having become vacant in consequence of that nobleman's accepting a place at the board of admiralty, he again declared himself a candidate, and met with a violent opposition: those who styled themselves the independent electors of Westminster being now incensed to an uncommon degree of turbulence by the interposition of ministerial influence, determined to use their utmost endeavors to baffle the designs of the court, and at the same time take vengeance on the family of earl Gower, who had intirely abandoned the opposition, of which he was formerly one of the most respected leaders: with this view they held consultations, agreed to resolutions, and set up a private gentleman, named Sir George Vandeput, as the competitor of lord Trentham, declaring that they would support his pretensions at their own expense, being the more encouraged to this enterprise by the countenance and assistance of the prince of Wales and his adherents: they accordingly opened houses of entertainment for their partisans, solicited votes, circulated remonstrances, and propagated abuse; in a word, they canvassed, with surprising spirit and perseverance, against the whole interest of St. James's; mobs were hired and processions made on both sides, and the city of Westminster was filled with tumult and uproar: the mutual animosity of the parties seemed every day to increase during the election, and a great number of unqualified votes were presented on both sides; all the powers of insinuation, obloquy, and ridicule were employed to vilify and depreciate both candidates: at length, the poll being closed, a majority of votes appeared in behalf of lord Trentham; but a scrutiny being demanded by the other side, the returning officer complied with their request. The speaker of the lower house had issued his warrant for a new writ of election about the middle of November: and towards the end of February, Mr. Fox, secretary at war, standing up, and observing that no return had yet been made, thought proper to move, that the clerk of the crown, the messenger extraordinary attending the great seal, the under-sheriff of Middlesex, and the high-bailiff of Westminster should attend next morning, and give an account of their issuing, delivering, and executing the writ of election: these being examined, and the high-bailiff declaring that he would proceed with all possible despatch in the scrutiny, which had been demanded and was begun, Mr. Speaker explained to him some par-

particulars of his duty, in the discharge of which he was given to understand he might depend on the protection of the house, should he meet with any obstruction which he could not otherwise surmount : by the violence and caprice with which a great number of votes were contested on both sides, the scrutiny was protracted a long time, and the return attended with some extraordinary consequences, which shall be particularised among the transactions of the next year : in the mean time, the present session of parliament was closed on the twelfth of April with a speech from the throne, commending the commons for having seized the very first opportunity of reducing the interest of the national debt without the least infringement on the faith of parliament ; and congratulating them on the flourishing state of the public credit, which could not fail to add strength and reputation to the government both at home and abroad. Immediately after the rising of the parliament, his majesty appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence, and embarked for the continent, in order to visit his German dominions.

39. The month of January and the beginning of February were distinguished, the first day by a very remarkable Aurora Borealis, appearing at night to the north-east, of a deep and dusky red color, like the reflection of some great fire, for which it was by many people mistaken ; and the coruscations, unlike those that are generally observed, did not meet in the zenith, but in a point some degrees to the southward. February was ushered in by terrible peals of thunder, flashes of lightning, and such a tempest of wind, hail, and rain, as overwhelmed with fear and consternation the inhabitants of Bristol, where it chiefly raged : on the eighth of the same month, between twelve and one in the afternoon, the people of London were still more dreadfully alarmed by the shock of an earthquake, which shook all the houses with such violence, that the furniture rocked on the floors, the pewter and porcelain rattled on the shelves, the chamber-bells rang, and the whole of this commotion was attended with a clap or noise resembling that produced by the fall of some heavy piece of furniture : the shock extended through the cities of London and Westminster, and was felt on both sides the river Thames, from Greenwich to the westward of London ; but not perceptible at a considerable distance : on the very same day of the next month, between five and six o'clock in the morning, the inhabitants of the metropolis were again

affrighted by a second shock, more violent than the first, and abundantly more alarming, as it waked the greater part of the people from their repose: it was preceded by a succession of thick low flashes of lightning, and a rumbling noise, like that of a heavy carriage rolling over a hollow pavement: the shock itself consisted of repeated vibrations, which lasted some seconds, and violently shook every house from top to bottom: again the chairs rocked, the shelves clattered, the small bells rang, and in some places public clocks were heard to strike: many persons, roused by this terrible visitation, started naked from their beds, and ran to their doors and windows in distraction; yet no life was lost, and no house overthrown by this concussion, though it was so dreadful as to threaten an immediate dissolution of the globe: the circumstance, however, did not fail to make a deep impression on ignorant, weak, and superstitious minds, which were the more affected by the consideration that the two shocks were periodical; that the second, which happened exactly one month after the first, had been the more violent; and that the next, increasing in proportion, might be attended with the most dismal consequences: this general notion was confirmed, and indeed propagated among all ranks of people, by the admonitions of a fanatic soldier, who publicly preached up repentance, and boldly prophesied that the next shock would happen on the same day of April, and totally destroy the cities of London and Westminster. Considering the infectious nature of fear and superstition, and the emphatic manner in which the imagination had been prepared and prepossessed, it was no wonder that the prediction of this illiterate enthusiast should have contributed in a great measure to augment the general terror: the churches were crowded with penitent sinners; the sons of riot and profligacy were overawed into sobriety and decorum; the streets no longer resounded with execrations or the noise of brutal licentiousness; and the hand of charity was liberally opened: those, whom fortune had enabled to retire from the devoted city, fled to the country with hurry and precipitation, insomuch that the highways were encumbered with horses and carriages: many who had in the beginning combated these groundless fears with the weapons of reason and ridicule, began insensibly to imbibe the contagion, and felt their hearts fail, in proportion as the hour of probation approached: even science and philosophy were not proof against the unaccountable effects of this com-

munication. In after-ages it will hardly be believed, that on the evening of the eighth of April the open fields that skirt the metropolis were filled with an incredible number of people assembled in chairs, in chaises, and coaches, as well as on foot, who waited in the most fearful suspense until morning and the return of day disproved the truth of the dreaded prophecy: then their fears vanished; they returned to their respective habitations in a transport of joy; and were soon reconciled to their abandoned vices, which they seemed to resume with redoubled affection; and once more bade defiance to the vengeance of Heaven.

40. By this time all the jails in England were filled with the refuse of the army and navy, which having been dismissed at the peace, and either averse to labor or excluded from employment, had naturally preyed on the commonwealth: great numbers of those wretches, who by proper regulations might have been rendered serviceable to the community, were executed as examples; and the rest perished miserably, amidst the stench and horrors of noisome dungeons: even the prison of Newgate was rendered so infectious by the uncommon crowds of confined felons stowed together in close apartments, that the very air they breathed acquired a pestilential degree of putrefaction: it was this putrefied air, which, adhering to the clothes of the malefactors brought to trial at the bar of the Old Bailey in May, produced among the audience a pestilential fever, which infected and proved fatal to the lord-mayor of London, to one alderman, two of the judges, divers lawyers who attended the session, the greatest part of the jury, and a considerable number of the spectators: in order to prevent such disasters for the future, the jails were cleansed and accommodated with ventilators, which exhaust the foul, and supply a circulation of fresh air; and other humane precautions were taken for the benefit of the prisoners.

41. The affairs of the continent underwent no remarkable alteration: an ambassador extraordinary being sent to Petersburg from the court of London, declared to the czarina's minister, that in case of a rupture between Russia and Sweden, occasioned by the hostilities committed by the former power, his Britannic majesty would consider Russia as the aggressor, and the czarina could not expect that he would supply her with the succors which he was engaged by treaty to furnish for her defence, in case she should be attacked: a declaration of the same nature was made by the

ambassador of her imperial majesty the queen of Hungary; while the ministers of France and Prussia, who were in strict alliance with Sweden, gave her to understand, that they would punctually fulfil their engagements with the court of Stockholm, should she actually invade the Swedish territories of Finland. The spirit with which the king of Prussia exerted himself on this occasion gave infinite umbrage to the czarina, who, indeed, expressed her resentment by treating the minister of Brandenburg with contemptuous neglect, and even refused to favor him with an audience, till he should be vested with the character of ambassador: thus were sown the seeds of misunderstanding between those two powers, which in the sequel grew up to the most bitter animosity, and served to inflame those dissensions which have desolated the fairest provinces of Germany: the remonstrance of his Prussian majesty with respect to the troubles of the north, was couched in such terms as gave dissatisfaction to the court of Petersburg: the Russian minister retired from Berlin without the ceremony of taking leave, and the Prussian ambassador Warendorf was recalled from the court of the czarina.

42. The attention of his Britannic majesty was not wholly engrossed by the disputes between Russia and Sweden: he had another object in view, which more nearly concerned the interest of his German dominions; and had set on foot two negociations of the utmost importance to the commerce and advantage of Great Britain. His first and principal aim was, in conjunction with the court of Vienna, to take such measures as would secure the succession of the imperial dignity to the archduke Joseph, eldest son and heir to the reigning emperor: as the previous step to that elevation, it was proposed to elect this young prince king of the Romans; and for this purpose it was necessary to procure a majority, not only of the electors, but also in the diet of the empire, through which the proposal must have passed: no stone was left unturned to reconcile this expedient to the German princes: subsidies were offered by the maritime powers of England and the States-General to the electors of Mentz and Cologne; and a treaty of the same nature was concluded with the elector of Bavaria, who, in consideration of an annual subsidy amounting to £40,000 sterling, (two thirds to be paid by Britain and the rest by the States-General) engaged to keep in readiness a body of 6000 infantry as auxiliaries to the maritime powers, though not to act against

the emperor or empire; and to join the interest of his Britannic majesty in the diet as well as in the electoral college: in order to render the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, propitious to this design, he was accommodated with the loan of a very considerable sum on the mortgage of certain bailiwicks and lordships belonging to the Saxon dominions. Thus a majority of the electors was secured, and such foundations were laid for the success of this project, that it was generally believed it would be accomplished in his Britannic majesty's next visit to his German dominions: hopes, it was said, were given to the king of Sweden, that his concurrence would be gratified by erecting the house of Hesse-Cassel, of which he was head, into a tenth electorate: arguments of an interesting nature were used with the king of Prussia and the elector palatine, that, if possible, the diet might unanimously approve of this measure, so necessary for establishing the peace of the empire, and preventing such troubles as arose from a disputed succession at the death of Charles VI. These endeavors, however, did not succeed in their full extent.

43. The king of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburg, opposed the election as unnecessary and improper, on account of the health and vigor of the reigning emperor, and the tender years of the archduke: this monarch had set himself up as a balance to the power of the house of Austria, which had long aspired to the absolute dominion over its co-estates, and endeavored to establish an hereditary right of succession to the empire; he therefore employed all his influence to frustrate the measure proposed, either actuated by a spirit of pure patriotism, or inspired with designs which he had not yet thought proper to declare: the opposition was joined by the elector palatine, and countenanced by the French king, who protested, that for the sake of peace he would not oppose this election, though contrary to the Golden Bull, provided it should be confirmed by the unanimous consent of the electoral college; but should any one member signify his dissent, and he or any state of the empire claim the protection and assistance of his most christian majesty, he could not dispense with granting both, in consequence of his being guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia; an engagement, by which he was obliged to succor those princes and states of the empire who might have recourse to him, in case of any grievance they suffered contrary to what was stipulated in that constitution. This declaration, co-

operating with the known character of his Prussian majesty, whose great army overawed Hanover and Bohemia, in all probability damped that vigor with which the courts of Vienna and Herenhausen had hitherto prosecuted this important negotiation.

44. The second object that employed the attention of the British ministry was the establishment of the precise limits of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, where the new colony had suffered great mischief and interruption from the incursions of the Indians, excited to these outrages by the subjects and emissaries of France : commissaries had been appointed by both crowns, to meet at Paris, and compromise these disputes ; but the conferences were rendered abortive by every art of cavilling, chicanery, and procrastination, which the French commissioners opposed to the justice and perspicuity of the English claims : they not only misinterpreted treaties, though expressed with the utmost precision, and perplexed the conferences with difficulties and matter foreign to the subject ; but they carried the finesse of perfidy so far as to produce false charts and maps of the country, in which the rivers and boundaries were misplaced and misrepresented : at this time also the insincerity of the French court appeared in affected delays and artful objections with respect to the evacuation of the neutral islands in the West-Indies ; and the governors of the British plantations in different parts of North-America transmitted intelligence, that the French had begun to make encroachments on the banks of the English colonies.

45. Perhaps the precarious footing on which the peace stood between Great Britain and France at this juncture, and the critical situation of affairs in Germany, determined the ministry of England to compromise all differences with Spain on such terms as at any other time they would hardly have embraced. In order to discuss those points between the two nations, which had not been settled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, conferences were also begun at Madrid, and carried on by Mr. Keene, plenipotentiary to his Britannic majesty, and Don Joseph de Carvajal and Lancastro, the Spanish king's minister : at length a treaty was concluded on these conditions : the king of Spain engaged to pay in three months to the South-Sea company of England £100,000 sterling, as an indemnification for all claims on his crown by virtue of the *assiento* : in other respects, the trade and navigation of the English to the ports of Spain were

regulated by former treaties. It was stipulated, that they should pay no other duties than those that were exacted of them in the reign of Charles II. of Spain ; that they should be treated on the footing of the most favored nations, and continue to enjoy the privilege of taking salt at the island of Tortuga : but there was no article restricting the Spanish guarda-costas from searching the British vessels on the high seas ; although, as we have already observed, this insolent prerogative, assumed without right and exercised without humanity, was in effect the original and sole cause of the late rupture, which had been attended with such enormous expense to the nation. It must be owned, however, that his catholic majesty was at this period extremely well disposed to live on good terms with Great Britain : he was resolved to indulge his people with the blessings of peace, to propagate a spirit of industry throughout his dominions, and in particular to encourage commerce, which he foresaw would prove a much more certain and inexhaustible source of wealth, power, and influence, than all the treasures he could drain from the mines of Mexico and Peru : his resolutions on this interesting subject were chiefly directed by Don Ricardo Wall, who now acted as the minister at London ; a gentleman of Irish extract, who had distinguished himself in the field as well as in the cabinet, and possessed the joint qualifications of a general and a statesman : he had, by virtue of a passport, come over privately to England before the peace, in order to pave the way for the treaty by a secret negociation with the English ministers ; but immediately after the peace was proclaimed he appeared in the character of ambassador : he was possessed of the most insinuating address, shrewd, penetrating, and inquisitive : while he resided in London, he spared no pains in learning the nature of those manufactures and that commerce, by which Great Britain had been so remarkably aggrandised ; and on his return to Spain, where in a little time he was placed at the helm of affairs, he turned the knowledge he had thus acquired to the advantage of his country : he not only promoted the useful arts within the kingdom of Spain, but demonstrated the infinite advantage that would accrue from an active trade, which the Spaniards had for many ages neglected ; and in a few years their ships were seen to swarm in all the commercial ports of Europe. Of other foreign events which distinguished this summer, the most remarkable was the death of John, king of Portugal, who

perfectly understood and steadily pursued the true interests of his country, and in whom many princely qualities were debased by a cruel spirit of bigotry and superstition: he was succeeded by his eldest son Joseph, who if he has fallen short of his father in some respects, cannot be justly charged with having inherited this paternal weakness.

46. The king of Great Britain having returned to England, opened the session of parliament in January with a speech, importing, that he had concluded a treaty with the king of Spain, and amicably adjusted such differences as could not be so properly compromised in a general treaty; that the true commerce of this nation with that country was re-established on the most advantageous and sure foundations; and that there was the greatest reason to hope the ancient friendship between Great Britain and Spain would, from mutual inclination as well as interest, be now effectually restored: he told them, that in conjunction with the empress-queen and the States-General, he had concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria, and was employed in taking such farther measures as might best tend to strengthen and secure the tranquillity of the empire, support its system, and timely anticipate such events, as had been found by experience to endanger the common cause, involve Europe in the calamities of war, and occasion the loss of much blood and treasure to these kingdoms: he promised that both these treaties should be subjected to their perusal: he gave them to understand, that he had received from all the other contracting powers in the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the most full and clear declarations of their resolution to preserve the general peace; and that he had taken care to consolidate the ties of union and friendship between him and his allies, the better to secure their mutual interests, maintain the peace already subsisting, and prevent the occasion of any future rupture: finally, he recommended unanimity, the improvement of commerce, and the effectual suppression of such outrages and violences, as are inconsistent with good order and government, and endanger the lives and properties of the subject, whose happiness and flourishing condition he had intirely at heart.

47. When the motion was made for an address of thanks, couched in terms that savored of the most implicit complaisance, approbation, and acquiescence in the measures which the crown had taken, the earl of Egmont and some other anti-courtiers affirmed that such an address would be

equally servile and absurd: they observed, that nothing could be more preposterous than a blind approbation of measures which they did not know; that nothing could be more ridiculous than their congratulations on the present happy tranquillity, when almost every day's newspapers informed them of some British ships being seized by the Spaniards, or some new attack made by the French on our infant colony in Nova Scotia: with respect to the continent of Europe, they affirmed that the tranquillity of Germany would have been on a much more solid foundation had England never interposed in the affairs of the empire; in that case the princes would of themselves have supported the constitution of their own country: that the election of an infant for the king of the Romans was much more likely to disturb than establish the tranquillity of Europe; because it would help to overturn the constitution of the empire, by rendering the imperial dignity hereditary in one house, instead of being the result of a free election: they took notice, that the constitution had provided vicars to govern the empire during the vacancy of the imperial throne; but had made no provision of regents, protectors, or guardians for a minor emperor, because it was never supposed that a minor would be chosen: they inveighed against the late treaty with Spain, in which, they said, the ministry, for the paltry sum of £100,000, had given up the claims of the South-Sea company and other British merchants, who had suffered from depredations to the amount of £1,300,000; and bartered away the freedom of our trade and navigation, by leaving untouched that prerogative which the Spaniards have assumed of searching the British ships in the open seas, and confiscating them should they find on board the least particle of what they called contraband merchandise: they produced an instance of an English ship, lately driven by stress of weather into one of the ports of the Spanish West-Indies, where she was searched, seized, and condemned under this pretence: they recapitulated the conduct of the French, who, in the midst of their declarations of peace and moderation, were still employed in fortifying their settlements on the neutral islands, as well as in harassing and encroaching on our plantations in North-America: they exclaimed against the treaty of subsidy with the elector of Bavaria or any other prince in time of peace, observing, that for some years the nation had paid such pensions to the Danes and the Hessians; but, in the course of the late war, the former

abandoned our interests, and the latter actually took arms against Great Britain: they affirmed, that the subsidy was greater than the nation could spare; for, unless the land-tax should be continued at four shillings in the pound, they could not afford a shilling to any prince in Germany without encroaching on the sinking-fund. 'At such a juncture,' said a certain member, 'will any gentleman presume to propose the continuation of such an imposition on the landholder, for the sake of bribing the princes of Germany, to do what? to preserve the freedom and independence of their native country: I say, princes of Germany; because this subsidy to Bavaria will signify nothing unless we take half a score more of them into our pay; and when we have thus indulged them for seven years of peace, they may give us the slip, as others have done, whenever another war should be declared.' Against these objections the motion was supported by Mr. William Pitt, at this time an advocate for the ministry: he observed, that the address was no more than the usual compliment to the throne, which did not imply an obligation on the parliament to approve of measures which they might find cause to censure on farther inquiry: he said, the trivial disputes still subsisting between this nation and the Spaniards, or France, would soon be terminated amicably, and could never affect the general tranquillity of Europe, which was to be established on a firm alliance between his majesty and such a confederacy on the continent as would be an over-match for the house of Bourbon: he expatiated on his majesty's wisdom in taking off from the French interest such a powerful prince as the elector of Bavaria, and concerning other salutary measures for preserving the balance of power on the continent: he defended the articles of the late treaty with Spain; observing, that what remained of the assiento contract was a matter of very little consequence to the South-Sea company; that the demands of this company and other British merchants were all cancelled by the rupture with Spain, and more than recompensed to the nation by a great balance of captures during the war, as well as by the great traffic carried on with the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies, after it had been laid open by the demolition of their fortresses: he asserted that by this treaty the court of Spain had made many important concessions; they had condescended to pay a great sum to the South-Sea company; they had consented to the re-establishment of the British trade in Spain on a

very advantageous and solid footing, by agreeing that the subjects of Great Britain should pay no other duties on merchandise than those exacted of his catholic majesty's own subjects, and to abolish all innovations that had been introduced into the commerce: he affirmed, that the article of no search was a stipulation which it would have been ridiculous to insist on; and thought proper to obviate a reproach which he foresaw the opposition would throw on him, from the circumstance of his having, on a former occasion, heartily concurred in a motion for an address, that no treaty of peace with Spain should be admitted, unless such a stipulation should be first obtained as a preliminary: he owned he had strenuously contended for such a motion, because at that time, being very young and sanguine, he thought it right and reasonable; but he was now ten years older, had considered matters more coolly, and was convinced that the privilege of no search, with respect to British vessels sailing near the American shore, would never be obtained, unless Spain should be brought so low as to acquiesce in any terms we, as victors, might propose: he likewise signified his conviction, that all addresses from the house of commons, during the course of a war, for prescribing terms of peace, were in themselves ridiculous; and that every such address was an encroachment on the king's prerogative, which had always been attended with unlucky consequences. How far these arguments are satisfactory, conclusive, and consistent, we shall leave to the reader's determination: certain it is, they were adopted by the majority, and the address was presented without farther opposition.

48. The two grand committees appointed to discuss the supplies for the ensuing year, and the funds on which they were to be raised, proceeded, as usual, under the direction of the ministry; yet not without some vehement opposition, in which certain servants of the crown expressed the most hearty concurrence: when a motion was made for reducing the number of seamen to 8000, Mr. W. Pitt, Mr. Lyttelton, and Mr. G. Grenville opposed it with all their might of argument and elocution; but they were over-ruled: annual debates were also revived, with the same success, on the number of troops constituting the standing army; but the other resolutions of the grand committees met with little or no opposition: the number of seamen for the ensuing year was limited to 8000, and that of the standing forces con-

tinued at 18,857 effective men, including 1815 invalids. The commons granted a considerable sum of money for paying off the principal of such redeemable stocks as had not been subscribed, in pursuance of two acts passed in the last session for reducing the interest of annuities: £30,000 were given for fulfilling the king's engagement with the elector of Bavaria: large grants were made for supplying deficiencies, and replacing sums borrowed from the sinking-fund: the expense incurred by the new colony in Nova Scotia, not provided for by parliament, exceeded £57,000; and the maintenance of it for the ensuing year was fixed at £53,927. 14s. 4d.: an enormous charge, if we consider to how little purpose all this bounty was bestowed! A fund was established, under the sanction of parliament, for the relief and maintenance of the widows of sea-officers, by allowing, on the books of every ship of war in sea-pay, the wages and victuals of one man for every hundred of which the complement shall consist, for such time only as the number of men employed in the service of the royal navy shall not exceed 20,000: this was an additional indulgence, over and above the allowance of one man granted by a former act of parliament. On the whole, the provisions of this year amounted to £5,125,023. 11s. 7d., to be raised by the usual duties; the sum of £1,026,476. 4s. 6d., advanced by the Bank of England, to pay off their own unsubscribed annuities, for which they accepted exchequer-bills at three per cent. interest; by the land-tax at three shillings in the pound; a lottery and annuities, at the rate of three per cent. per annum, to be charged on the sinking-fund, redeemable by parliament. The annual measure called the mutiny-bill was not passed without dispute and altercation: some alterations were proposed, but not adopted; and the sentences of courts-martial still subjected to one revision.

49. In the midst of these deliberations the kingdom was alarmed with an event which overwhelmed the people with grief and consternation: his royal highness the prince of Wales, in consequence of a cold caught in his garden at Kew, was seized with a pleuritic disorder; and, after a short illness, expired on the twentieth of March, 1751, to the unspeakable affliction of his royal consort, and the unfeigned sorrow of all who wished well to their country. This excellent prince, who now died in the forty-fifth year of his age, was possessed of every amiable quality which could engage the affection of the people; a tender and

obliging husband, a fond parent, a kind master, liberal, generous, candid, and humane ; a munificent patron of the arts ; an unwearied friend to merit ; well disposed to assert the rights of mankind in general, and warmly attached to the interest of Great Britain. The nation could not but be afflicted at seeing a prince of such expectations ravished from their hopes ; and their grief was the better founded, as the king had already attained to an advanced age, and the heir-apparent, George, now prince of Wales, was a minor.

50. His majesty, foreseeing all the inconveniences which might arise from a minority, deliberated with his council on this subject, and resolved to obtain a parliamentary sanction for the measures judged necessary to secure the succession : with this view he sent a message to both houses on the twenty-sixth of April, importing, that nothing could conduce so much to the preservation of the protestant succession in his royal family as proper provisions for the tuition of the person of his successor, and for the regular administration of the government, in case the successor should be of tender years : his majesty therefore earnestly recommended this weighty affair to the deliberation of parliament ; and proposed, that when the imperial crown of these realms should descend to any of the late prince's sons, being under the age of eighteen years, his mother, the princess dowager of Wales, should be guardian of his person, and regent of these kingdoms, until he should attain the age of majority, with such powers and limitations as should appear necessary and expedient for these purposes : this message produced a very affectionate address, promising to take the affair into their serious consideration ; and in the beginning of May the duke of Newcastle presented to the house of peers a bill to provide for the administration of government, in case the crown should descend to a minor : the bill was read a second time, and committed ; when a second message arrived from his majesty, recommending to their consideration the settlement of such a council of regency as the bill proposed, consisting of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, who at that time commanded the army, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the lord high treasurer or first lord commissioner of the treasury, the president of the council, the lord privy-seal, the lord high-admiral of Great Britain or first commissioner of the admiralty, the two principal secretaries of state, and the lord chief justice of the king's-bench ; all these great officers, except

his royal highness the duke, for the time being. This bill did not pass through the lower house without violent debate and bitter sarcasms: the council of regency, though espoused by all the ministry, including the paymaster-general, met with fierce opposition, as an unnecessary and fatal restriction, that would impede the machine of government; and, as the council was constituted, might be productive of the most pernicious consequence: some of the members ventured even to insinuate the danger of leaving at the head of a large standing army a prince of the blood, vested with a share of the regency, possessed of great personal influence, the darling of the soldiery, brave, popular, and enterprising; supposed not wholly devoid of ambition, and not at all remarkable for any symptoms of extraordinary affection towards the person of the heir-apparent: the history of England was ransacked for invidious instances of royal uncles and regents, who had injured the sovereigns, and distressed the government, by their pride, cruelty, and ambition: the characters of John Lackland, and John of Gaunt, Humphrey and Richard dukes of Gloucester, were called in review, canvassed, compared, and quoted, with some odious applications: but the majority, being convinced of the loyalty, virtue, integrity, and great abilities of his royal highness, to whom the nation owed obligations of the most important nature, passed the bill with a few amendments, in which the lords acquiesced; and in a little time it received the royal sanction.

51. The death of the prince of Wales was fatal to a bill which had been brought into the house of commons, for naturalising all foreign protestants who should settle within the dominions of Great Britain. Political arithmeticians have generally taken it for granted, that to every commercial nation an increase of people is an increase of opulence; and this maxim is certainly true, on the supposition that every individual is industrious, and that there is a sufficient field for employment; but all these general maxims ought to be received under certain qualifications: when all branches of manufacture are overstocked, an addition of workmen will doubtless be an additional encumbrance on the community. In the debates which this bill produced, the members of the ministry were divided among themselves: the measure was enforced by the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. W. Pitt, and Mr. Lyttelton; and in opposing it the earl of Egmont was joined by Mr. Fox, secretary at war: petitions and counter-petitions were presented by the merchants of Lon-

don, Bristol, and other trading towns of the kingdom: all merchants and traders of foreign extraction exerted themselves vigorously in its behalf, and it was without doubt countenanced by the administration; but the project was odious to the people in general: the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of London, in common-council assembled, composed a remonstrance to the lower house, setting forth the danger and inutility of a general naturalisation of foreign protestants: a petition of the merchants and principal inhabitants of Bristol represented that such a law would be prejudicial to the trade and commerce of this kingdom, by preventing many industrious artificers from procuring a sufficient support for themselves and their families, and of consequence increasing the rates of the poor; that the introduction of such a number of foreigners, instead of being a support to the present happy establishment, might endanger the very basis of our constitution; that it would greatly tend to the diminution of our manufactures, as many strangers would doubtless come and reside in England for a time, in order to learn the methods and management of our manufacturers and artificers; and, after having obtained this instruction, return to their native countries, where they would establish and carry on works of the same nature. The twentieth of March being appointed for the third reading of the bill, it was postponed in consequence of the unfortunate death of the prince of Wales; and other petitions from different cities of the kingdom being mustered against it in the sequel, the ministry did not think proper to persist in any unpopular measure at such a delicate conjuncture; so the bill was no more brought on the carpet. Divers other regulations, relating to civil policy as well as to the commerce of Great Britain, were propounded in the house of commons; but these proposals proved abortive, either because they appeared crude and indigested in themselves, or the house could not obtain proper information touching the allegations they contained.

52. There were no other transactions in this session, except the concurrence of both houses in stigmatising a printed paper, entitled, 'Constitutional Queries, earnestly recommended to the serious consideration of every true Briton;' and the steps taken by the commons, in consequence of the commotions occasioned by the Westminster election. The above-mentioned paper, which had been conveyed by letter to the majority of both houses, was communicated

to the lords in the month of January by the duke of Marlborough, who moved for resolutions against it as a seditious libel, and that the concurrence of the commons might be desired: a conference accordingly ensued, and both houses concurred in voting the paper a false, malicious, scandalous, infamous, and seditious libel, containing the most false, audacious, and abominable calumnies and indignities on his majesty, and the most presumptuous and wicked insinuations, that our laws, liberties, and properties, and the excellent constitution of this kingdom were in danger under his majesty's legal, mild, and gracious government, with intent to instil groundless suspicions and jealousies into the minds of his majesty's good subjects, and to alienate their affections from his majesty and the royal family: it was therefore resolved by the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in parliament assembled, that, in abhorrence and detestation of such abominable and seditious practices, the paper should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in the new Palace-yard of Westminster; and this sentence was executed accordingly: then they presented an address to his majesty, desiring that the most effectual means might be taken for discovering the author, printer, or publisher, that he or they might be brought to condign punishment: directions were given for this purpose, but without effect: those concerned in writing, printing, and circulating the paper, had acted with such caution, that not one of them was ever discovered.

53. The proceedings of the commons with respect to the election of a burgess for Westminster were attended with some extraordinary circumstances, which we shall now record for the edification of those who pique themselves on the privileges of a British subject. We have already observed, that a majority appearing on the poll for lord Trentham, the adherents of the other candidate, Sir George Vandeput, demanded a scrutiny, which was granted by the high-bailiff of Westminster, the returning-officer: during this tedious investigation, which rested chiefly on the qualifications of voters, he acted with such address and seeming candor as gave intire satisfaction to both parties, till at length he determined in favor of lord Trentham, whom he returned as duly elected. Those who styled themselves the independent electors did not acquiesce in this determination without clamor, reproach, menaces, and riot: they taxed Mr. Leigh, the high-bailiff, with partiality and injustice;

they loudly affirmed that ministerial influence had been used in the most scandalous manner ; and, finally, joined Sir George Vandeput in a petition to the lower house, complaining of an undue election and return of a member for the city of Westminster. The commons, instead of inquiring into the merits of these petitions, ordered them to lie on the table ; and, without any complaint from any person whatever, a motion was made that Leigh, the high-bailiff, should attend the house immediately, in order to make them acquainted with what he had done in pursuance of the directions he had formerly received from that house, touching the execution of the writ for electing a new member to represent the city of Westminster : as this motion had been preconcerted, Leigh was attending in the lobby, and immediately called into the house to be examined on this subject : having, in the course of his examination, alleged that the election had been protracted by affected delays, he was asked by whom, and by what means ; but before he could answer, the earl of Egmont, interposing, objected to the question as improper, and moved for the order of the day : a debate immediately ensued, in which the impropriety of the question was demonstrated by Mr. Henley, now lord-keeper, Dr. Lee, and some others, the most sensible and moderate members of the house ; but they were opposed with great violence by lord viscount Cork, Henry Fox, Esq. Sir William Young, colonel Lyttelton, and the weight of the ministry ; so that the motion for the order of the day was carried in the negative, and the high-bailiff required to answer the question : thus interrogated, he declared that he had been impeded in the scrutiny and maltreated by Mr. Crowle, who had acted as counsel for Sir George Vandeput ; by the honorable Alexander Murray, brother to lord Elbank ; and one Gibson, an upholsterer, who had been very active, zealous, and turbulent in his endeavors to promote the interest of Sir George Vandeput, or rather to thwart the pretensions of the other candidate, who was supposed to be countenanced by the ministry : these three persons, thus accused, were brought to the bar of the house, notwithstanding the strenuous remonstrances of several members, who opposed this method of proceeding, as a species of oppression equally arbitrary and absurd : they observed, that as no complaint had been preferred, they had no right to take cognisance of the affair ; that if any undue influence

had been used, it would naturally appear when the merits of the election should fall under their inquiry ; that a complaint having been lodged already against the returning officer, it was their duty to investigate his conduct, and punish him if he should be found delinquent ; but that nothing could be more flagrantly unjust and apparently partial, than their neglecting the petitions of the other candidate and electors, and encouraging the high-bailiff, who stood charged with iniquity, to recriminate on his accusers, that they might be disabled from giving evidence on the inquiry into the merits of the election. What difference is it to the subject, whether he is oppressed by an arbitrary prince or by the despotic insolence of a ministerial majority ? Mr. Crowle alleged in his own vindication that he had been employed as counsel by the electors of Westminster, and attended the scrutiny in that character ; that after the high-bailiff had, in the course of the last session, received the order of the house to expedite the election, he hurried on the scrutiny with such precipitation as, he apprehended, was unjust, and prejudicial to his clients ; that, in this apprehension, he, (Mr. Crowle) insisted on the high-bailiff's proceeding with more deliberation, and in so doing he thought he did his duty to his employers. Some evidence being examined against him, declared he had not only protracted the scrutiny, but also spoken disrespectful words of the house of commons : he was therefore reprimanded on his knees by the speaker, and discharged.

54. Mr. Murray being charged with having uttered some threatening and affronting expressions, the house adjourned the consideration of this affair for some days, at the expiration of which Mr. Murray was to be heard by his counsel ; but in the mean time they ordered him to be taken into custody by the sergeant at arms attending the house : this step, however, was not taken without a warm opposition by some of the most sedate and intelligent members of the house, who considered it as a cruel act of oppression : they observed, that in cases of breach of privilege no person complained of was ever taken into custody until after he had been fully heard in his defence ; that this was literally prejudging the cause before it had been examined ; and the oppression was the greater, as the alleged offence consisted intirely of words, of which no complaint or information had been made for above eight months after the supposed offence had been committed ; and even then, not till an accusation

had been lodged against the informant, on the trial of which accusation the persons informed against might very probably be the most material witnesses: they observed, that in one of the highest offences which can be committed by words, namely, that of denying the king's right to the crown, or renouncing the Trinity, the information must be brought in three or four days after the words are spoken; the words must be proved to have been spoken maliciously, directly, and advisedly; and the prosecution must commence in three months after the information. These suggestions made no more impression than if they had been uttered in a desert: those who were secure in their number asserted that the house of commons was not restricted by the forms of proceedings at common law; and that it was necessary to vindicate their own honor and dignity, by making examples of those who seemed to hold them in contempt. Mr. Murray was committed to the custody of the sergeant at arms, and found bail; and Gibson was sent prisoner to Newgate, from whence he was in a few days released, on presenting a humble petition, professing his sorrow for having incurred the displeasure of the house, to the bar of which he was brought, and received a reprimand on his knees from the speaker: in the mean time divers witnesses, being examined before the house, declared that Mr. Murray had been seen, about the time of the return of a member for Westminster, heading and exciting a tumult to acts of violence against the high-bailiff: the majority, therefore, after a long and warm debate, agreed, that for his dangerous and seditious practices, in violation and contempt of the privileges of the house and of the freedom of elections, he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate: then, in the close of another violent debate, they resolved, that he should be brought to the bar of the house, to receive that sentence on his knees: he accordingly appeared, and being directed by the speaker to kneel, refused to comply: he knew that he could not be discharged from Newgate during the session, without petitioning, acknowledging his offence, and making such concessions as he thought would imply a consciousness of guilt; he considered this whole transaction as an oppressive exertion of arbitrary power, and, being apprised of the extent of their authority, determined to bear the brunt of their indignation rather than make submissions which he deemed beneath the dignity of his character. When he refused to humble himself, the whole house was in commotion; he was no sooner removed

from the bar, than they resolved, that his having in a most insolent and audacious manner refused to be on his knees at the bar of that house, in consequence of their former resolution, was a high and most dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the commons; it was therefore ordered, that he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate; debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper; and that no person should have access to him without the leave of the house: finally, a committee was appointed to consider what methods might be proper to be taken by them, in relation to this instance of contempt. Meanwhile the petitioners against the return made by the high-bailiff, perceiving the temper of the house and the complexion of the majority, withdrew their petition; and the order which had passed for hearing the merits of the election was discharged: Mr. Murray being taken dangerously ill in Newgate, application was made to the commons, by some of his relations, that he might be removed to a more convenient situation; and his physician, being examined, gave it as his opinion that he was infected with the jail distemper: on this representation the house agreed that the speaker should issue a warrant for removing him from Newgate to the custody of the sergeant at arms; but this favor he refused to accept, and expressed the warmest resentment against those relations who had applied to the commons in his behalf: thus he remained sequestered even from his own brother and sister, under the displeasure of the commons of England, who condescended so far as to make resolutions touching the physician, apothecary, and nurse who attended this prisoner; but the prorogation of parliament having put an end to their authority for that session, Mr. Murray was discharged of course, and conducted by the sheriffs from Newgate to his own house, in procession, with flags and streamers exhibiting the emblems of liberty.

55. In the month of June the session was closed with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty thanked both houses for the zeal and affection they had manifested towards him and his government; and congratulated the commons in particular, on their firmness and prudence in reducing the interest of the national debt; a measure as agreeable to him as essential to the strength and welfare of the kingdom.² The interior economy of Great Britain

² One of the most remarkable acts which passed in the course of this session, was that for regulating the commencement of the

produced within the circle of this year nothing else worthy of historical regard, except a series of enormous crimes, arising from the profligacy of individuals, which reflected disgrace on the morals and the polity of the nation : rapine and robbery had domineered without intermission ever since the return of peace, which was attended with a reduction of the army and navy ; but now crimes of a deeper die seemed to lift up their heads in contempt of law and humanity :³ every day almost produced fresh instances of perjury, forgery, fraud, and circumvention ; and the kingdom exhibited a most amazing jumble of virtue and vice, honor and infamy, compassion and obduracy, sentiment and brutality.

year, and correcting the calendar, according to the Gregorian computation, which had been adopted by all other nations in Europe : by this new law it was decreed that the new year should begin on the first of January, and that eleven intermediate nominal days between the second and fourteenth days of September, 1752, should for that time be omitted, so that the day succeeding the second should be denominated the fourteenth of that month : by this establishment of the new style, the equinoxes and solstices will happen nearly on the same nominal days on which they fell in the year 325, at the council of Nice, and the correspondence between the English merchants and those of foreign countries will be greatly facilitated, with respect to the dates of letters and accounts.

³ An indulgent parent was poisoned by his only daughter, on whom, besides other marks of tenderness and paternal affection, he had bestowed a liberal education, which greatly aggravated her guilt and ingratitude : another young woman was concerned in the assassination of her own uncle, who had been her constant benefactor and sole guardian : a poor old woman, having from the ignorance and superstition of her neighbors incurred the suspicion of sorcery and witchcraft, was murdered in Hertfordshire by the populace with all the wantonness of barbarity : rape and murder were perpetrated on an unfortunate woman in the neighborhood of London, and an innocent man suffered death for this complicated outrage, while the real criminals assisted at his execution, heard him appeal to Heaven for his innocence, and in the character of friends embraced him, while he stood on the brink of eternity.

CHAP. XXII.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1751.

1. Death of the queen of Denmark and prince of Orange—2, Misunderstanding between the czarina and king of Prussia—3. Measures for electing a king of the Romans—4. Death of the king of Sweden—5. Session opened. Animosity of the commons towards Mr. Murray—6. Proceedings on a pamphlet, entitled the Case of Mr. Murray—7. Supplies granted—8. Civil regulations—9. Law relating to the forfeited estates in Scotland—10. New consolidations of funds—11. Two ports opened for the importation of Irish wool—12. The king sets out for Hanover—13. Affairs of the continent—14. Dispute between Hanover and Prussia concerning East-Friesland—15. Misunderstanding between the courts of London and Berlin—16. Improvement of Pomerania—17. Treaty with the elector palatine—18. Session opened—19. Supplies granted—20. Game act—21. Act for performing quarantine,—22. and for preventing the plundering of shipwrecked vessels—23. Bill relating to the bounty on corn exported—24. Turkey trade laid open—25. Naturalisation of the Jews—26. Marriage act—27. Deliberations concerning the sugar colonies—28. Fate of the register bill—29. Sir Hans Sloane's museum purchased by parliament—30. Story of Elizabeth Canning—31. Execution of Dr. Cameron—32. Tumults in different parts of the kingdom—33. Disturbances in France—34. Proceedings of the diet relative to East-Friesland—35. Treaty between the court of Vienna and the duke of Marlborough—36. Conferences with respect to Nova Scotia broken up—37. Description of Nova Scotia—38. Disputes concerning its limits.

1. THE royal family of England had sustained three severe shocks in the compass of a few months: besides the loss of the prince of Wales, which the nation lamented as irreparable, his majesty was deeply afflicted by the untimely death of his youngest daughter, the queen of Denmark, who died at Copenhagen, on the nineteenth of December, in the prime of youth: she was one of the most amiable princesses of the age in which she lived, whether we consider the virtues of her heart or the accomplishments of her person; generous, mild, and tender-hearted; beloved even almost to adoration by her royal consort, to whom she had borne a prince and two princesses; and universally admired and

revered by the subjects of his Danish majesty : her death had been preceded about two months by that of her brother-in-law, the prince of Orange, no less regretted by the natives of the United Provinces for his candor, integrity, and hereditary love to his country : though he had not distinguished himself by the lustre of a superior genius, he had been at great pains to cultivate his understanding, and study the true interest of that community of which he was a member : he had always approved himself a good and zealous citizen ; and, since his elevation to the stadtholdership, taken many salutary steps for the advantage of his country : among other excellent schemes which he suggested, he left a noble plan with the States-General for restoring their commerce to its former lustre, and lived long enough to receive their warmest acknowledgements for this last proof of his prudence and patriotism. His son and daughter being both infants, the administration of the government devolved on the princess, as *gouvernante* during her son's minority ; and as such she succeeded to all the power which her husband had enjoyed.

2. With respect to the affairs of the continent, the peace of the north seemed still as precarious as ever ; for though the difference between Russia and Sweden had been compromised, the mutual disgust between the czarina and the king of Prussia had gained such accession from reciprocal insults, ill offices, and inflammatory declarations, that those two powers seemed to be on the eve of a rupture, and each was employed in making extraordinary preparations for war : the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, foreseeing that such a rupture would embroil the empire, and raise insurmountable obstructions to their favorite scheme of electing the archduke Joseph king of the Romans, resolved to employ all their influence, in order to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Petersburg and Berlin : his Prussian majesty had signified to the king of Great Britain and the States-General the situation in which he stood with the czarina, and solicited their interposition, that the difference might be amicably accommodated : at the same time he sent an envoy extraordinary to Versailles, to negotiate with the French king for a very considerable body of auxiliaries, in case he should be attacked. These circumstances induced the maritime powers and the court of Vienna to use their utmost endeavors for the prevention of a rupture ; and accordingly they made remonstrances on this subject by their ministers at Petersburg, proposing that the quarrel should be ter-

minated without bloodshed, and all cause of animosity be buried in oblivion.

3. In the mean time, they eagerly prosecuted the design of the election ; and the imperial minister at Berlin not only communicated to his Prussian majesty the sentiments of the king of England on this expedient, but even solicited his vote for the archduke Joseph, when the election of a king of the Romans should be proposed in the electoral college : to this proposal he replied, that he was extremely well disposed to manifest his regard for their imperial majesties, and to give the most genuine proofs of it, even in the proposed election of a king of the Romans, considering the great merit of the present candidate, the archduke Joseph ; but he left it to the consideration of their imperial majesties, whether the election would not be a little premature, if transacted at a time when his imperial majesty was in the flower of his age ; enjoying perfect health ; and when all Europe, particularly the empire, was hushed in the bosom of tranquillity, so that no circumstance seemed to prognosticate the necessity of such an election, or of putting in execution the motives mentioned in the capitulation of the reigning emperor's election ; especially as the examination of these motives belonged to the whole empire, and ought to precede the election, by virtue of the eighth article of the treaty of Westphalia : he observed, that in case of the emperor's death, Germany would find herself in a very disagreeable situation under the government of a minor : for these reasons, he said, he could not help advising their imperial majesties to wait until the archduke should be of age, when his election might be carried on more conformably to the laws and constitutions of the empire, and more suitably to the majesty of the whole Germanic body. This reply he circulated among the electors, and in particular transmitted it to the king of Great Britain ; desiring they would deliberate maturely on this subject, and confer together in a body as well as in private, that they might proceed according to the ancient custom of the electoral college, and take such measures as should be judged expedient for the honor and advantage of the community : this circular letter was answered both by the king of England and the elector of Bavaria, who demonstrated that it was the privilege of the electoral college only, without any participation of the other princes of the empire, to elect a king of the Romans during the life of the emperor, in order to maintain the peace and preserve the liberties of Germany ; and that the

neglect of this wise precaution had produced bloody wars, and many fatal consequences to the empire: they observed, that nothing could more contribute to the establishment of the public tranquillity than this measure, so ardently desired by the majority of the German princes; and that although the archduke Joseph wanted a few years of being of age, and it might possibly happen that the reigning emperor should die during that prince's minority, yet it would be much less prejudicial to the empire to have a minor chief, than to see the succession altogether unsettled. His Prussian majesty received a declaration to the same purpose from the elector of Mentz; and understanding that this prince, as arch-chancellor of the empire, intended to convoke an electoral diet, in order to propose the election of a king of the Romans, he wrote an elaborate letter to his highness, explaining at more length his reasons for postponing the election: he quoted that sentence of the treaty of Westphalia, which expressly declares that the election of a king of the Romans shall be discussed and ordained by the common consent of the states of the empire, and therefore he could not conceive what right the electoral college had to arrogate this privilege to themselves, excluding the other states of the empire: he observed, that the imperial capitulations, which were the only laws of the empire that treated of this subject, mentioned only three cases in which it was lawful to proceed to such an election; namely, the emperor's leaving, and long absence from Germany; his advanced age, or an indisposition rendering him incapable of managing the reins of government; and any case of emergency in which the preservation of the empire's prosperity is interested: he affirmed, that none of these motives at present existed; that in case the imperial crown should devolve to a minor, many mischiefs and disorders must ensue, as the constitutions of the empire have established no regulations nor regency in that event; that an election of this nature, carried on under the power, influence, and authority of the head of the empire, would strike at the fundamental privileges of the princes and states; consequently, in time overturn the constitution of the empire, which, from being an elective dignity, conferred by the free and independent suffrages of the electoral college and states of Germany under certain capitulations, obliging the prince thus chosen to govern according to law, would become an hereditary succession, perpetuated in one family, which of

course must be aggrandised to the prejudice of its co-estates, and the ruin of the Germanic liberties. In a word, all Germany in general, and Ratisbon in particular, was filled with writings published on both sides; by the emperor and his adherents, to demonstrate that the election of a king of the Romans, during the life of the emperor, had often happened, and at this present time was necessary, and would be advantageous to the empire; while the king of Prussia and his friends labored to prove that such an election, at the present juncture, would be ill-timed, irregular, and of dangerous consequence. Perhaps, if the truth was known, this enterprising prince had projected some great scheme, with the execution of which this proposed establishment would have interfered: certain it is, he exerted himself with that spirit and perseverance which were peculiar to his character to frustrate the intention of the courts of Vienna and London in this particular, and was assisted with the intrigue of the French ministry: their joint endeavors were so effectual, that the elector of Cologne renounced his subsidiary treaty with the maritime powers, and once more threw himself into the arms of France: the elector palatine, being solicited by the empress-queen and his Britannic majesty to co-operate with their views, insisted, as a preliminary article, on being indemnified by the court of Vienna for the ravages committed in his territories by the Austrian troops during the course of the last war; the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, made the same demand of the like indemnification, which was granted by the mediation of king George; and then he subscribed to a subsidy-treaty, obliging himself to furnish a body of 6000 auxiliaries, in case they should be required by the maritime powers; and to act as elector, in concert with the house of Austria, in every thing relating to the welfare of his country that should square with the fundamental laws of the empire. The courts of London and Vienna had this election so much at heart, that they sounded almost all the powers of Europe, to know how they stood affected towards the measure proposed: the king of Spain declined intermeddling in a domestic affair of the empire: the French king returned an ambiguous answer, from whence it was concluded that nothing but opposition could be expected from that quarter: the Swedish monarch was rendered propitious to the project, by assurances that the house of Hesse-Cassel, of which he was the head, should be elevated into an electorate: they even endeavored to soften

his Prussian majesty, by consenting, at last, that the treaty of Dresden, confirming to him the possession of Silesia, should be guarantied by the diet of the empire; a sanction which he now actually obtained, together with the ratification of his imperial majesty: notwithstanding this indulgence, he still persisted in raising fresh objections to the favorite project on pretence of concerting measures for preventing the inconveniences that might result from a minority; for regulating the capitulations to be agreed on with the king of the Romans; securing the freedom of future elections; and preserving the prerogatives and privileges of the Germanic body in all its members: in consequence of these obstacles, joined to the apostasy of the elector of Cologne, the obstinacy of the elector palatine, and the approaching diet of Hungary, at which their imperial majesties were obliged personally to preside, the measures for the election were suspended till next summer, when his Britannic majesty was expected at Hanover, to put the finishing stroke to this great event in favor of the house of Austria.

4. Another disappointment, with respect to this election, the promoters of it sustained in the death of his Swedish majesty, who expired in a good old age, and was succeeded by Adolphus Frederic, duke of Holstein Eutin, bishop of Lubeck, on whom the succession had been settled for some years by the unanimous concurrence of the states of the kingdom: this prince ascended the throne of Sweden without the least disturbance; and, of his own accord, took an oath in full senate, that he would never attempt to introduce a despotic authority, but maintain their liberties with his blood, and govern his subjects in all respects according to the laws and the form of government established in Sweden: this public act, which was communicated to all the foreign ministers, and particularly to the envoy from Petersburg, met with such a favorable reception from the czarina, that she expressed her satisfaction in a public declaration; and the good understanding between the two courts was perfectly restored.

5. When the parliament of England was opened in the month of November, the king, in his speech from the throne, gave them to understand, that for the same purposes which suggested the treaty with the elector of Bavaria, he had now, in conjunction with the States-General, concluded another with the king of Poland, elector of Saxony: he told them, that the unfortunate death of the prince of Orange

had made no alteration in the state of affairs in Holland, and that he had received the strongest assurances from the states of their firm resolution to maintain the intimate union and friendship happily subsisting between his majesty and those ancient and natural allies of his crown : he exhorted both houses to consider seriously of some effectual provisions, to suppress those audacious crimes of robbery and violence, grown so frequent about the capital, proceeding in a great measure from that profligate spirit of irreligion, idleness, gaming, and extravagance, which had of late extended itself in an uncommon degree, to the dishonor of the nation, and the great offence and prejudice of the sober and industrious part of the people. The paragraphs of this speech were, as usual, echoed back to the throne in addresses, replete with expressions of loyalty, affection, and approbation : opposition was by this time almost extinguished ; and the proceedings of both houses took place with such unanimity as was hardly ever known before this period in a British parliament : the commons, however, seem to have assembled with such sentiments as did no great honor to their temper and magnanimity. In a few days after the session opened, lord viscount Coke, a young nobleman, whose character entitled him to very little regard or influence among men of sense and probity, made a motion, that Mr. Murray, who had been so severely persecuted in the last session for refusing to humble himself on his knees before them, should be again committed close prisoner to Newgate for the same offence : this proposal, which supposed a power that the commons had never before exercised, was sharply disputed by the earl of Egmont, and others, who had not resigned all sense of moderation ; but the majority adopted the measure with great eagerness, and the speaker was ordered to issue his warrant accordingly : then the house resolved, that the said Alexander Murray should receive the sentence, for his now being committed close prisoner to his majesty's jail of Newgate at the bar of the house, on his knees ; and the sergeant at arms was commanded to take him into custody for this purpose : their indignation however was eluded by the caution of the delinquent, who, having foreseen the effects of their resentment, had prudently retired to another country : they determined nevertheless to proceed against him as a person of some consequence in the commonwealth ; for, being informed of his retreat, they condescended so far as to present an address

to his majesty, desiring that his royal proclamation might be issued for apprehending the said Mr. Murray, promising a reward to him who should have the good fortune to apprehend this fugitive ;—a request, with which his majesty most graciously complied.

6. Nor was this the only address presented to the king on such an important subject : a pamphlet, entitled, ‘ The Case of the Hon. Alexander Murray, Esq. in an appeal to the people of Great Britain,’ was first stigmatised in a complaint to the house, and was afterwards produced and read at the table : the piece was written with great acrimony, and abounded with severe animadversions, not only on the conduct of the returning-officer, but also on the proceedings of the commons : the violent members immediately took fire, and the flame extended itself to the majority ; nay, the house unanimously resolved, ‘ that the pamphlet was an impudent, malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel, falsely and most injuriously reflecting on, and aspersing the proceedings of the house ; tending to create misapprehensions in the minds of the people, to the great dishonor of the said house, and in violation of the privileges thereof.’ They furthermore presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions to his attorney-general to prosecute the authors or author, the printers or printer, and the publishers or publisher of the said scandalous libel, that they might be brought to condign punishment : directions were accordingly given for this purpose, and a prosecution commenced against the publisher, who had some reason to be dismayed, considering the great weight of influence he was doomed to encounter ; influence arising from a prosecution of the crown, instituted at the request, and founded on a vote of the house of commons : nevertheless, when the cause was heard before the lord chief justice of England, a jury of free-born Englishmen, citizens of London, asserted their privileges of judging the law as well as the fact, and acquitted the defendant with a truly admirable spirit of independence : they considered the pamphlet as an appeal against oppression ; and, convinced that the contents were true, they could not in conscience adjudge it a false libel, even though it had been so declared by one of the branches of the legislature.

7. The commons, in regulating the supplies of the ensuing year, voted the continuation of 18,857 men for the land service, though not without some opposition from certain

patriots, who, rather from a sense of duty than from any hope of influencing the majority, affirmed that 16,000 men in time of peace would answer all the ends proposed by a standing army: the number of seamen was fixed at 10,000: large sums were granted to make up deficiencies, and fulfil the engagements of the crown with the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, as well as for the maintenance of Nova Scotia and Georgia, and the castles on the coast of Guinea; and £112,152. 3s. 3d. were voted, as a full compensation to the old royal African company for their exclusive charter and property, to be applied for the relief of their creditors.⁴ [1752.]

8. The laws enacted for the encouragement of traffic and the regulations of civil polity consisted in an act for licensing pawnbrokers, and for the more effectual preventing the receiving of stolen goods; another for preventing thefts and robberies, by which places of entertainment, dancing, and music in London, Westminster, and within twenty miles of the capital, were suppressed and prohibited, unless the proprietors of them could obtain licenses from the justices of the peace, empowered for that purpose; a third for annexing the forfeited estates in Scotland unalienably in the crown, after having made satisfaction to the lawful creditors; establishing a method of leasing their estates, and applying the rents and profits of them for the better civilising and improving the highlands, and preventing future disorders in that part of the united kingdom. Nothing could be more salutary than the purposes of these regulations: the suburbs of the metropolis abounded with an incredible number of public houses, which continually resounded with the noise of riot and intemperance; they were the haunts of idleness, fraud, and rapine, and the seminaries of drunkenness, debauchery, extravagance, and every vice incident to human nature: yet the suppression of these receptacles of infamy was attended with an inconvenience, which in some cases arose even

⁴ These expenses were defrayed by a continuation of the duties on malt, &c. a land-tax at three shillings in the pound; a duty on licenses, to be yearly paid by pawnbrokers and dealers in second-hand goods within the bills of mortality; the sum of £1,400,000 advanced by the bank, according to a proposal made for that purpose; £500,000 to be issued by the sinking-fund; a duty laid on gum senegal; and the continuation of divers other occasional impositions. The grants for the year amounted to something less than £4,000,000, and the provisions made for this expense exceeded it in the sum of £271,024. 10s. 6½d.

to a degree of oppression : the justices, being vested by the legislature with the power of granting or refusing licenses, were constituted in effect the arbiters on whose decision the fortunes and livelihood of many individuals absolutely depended : many of those who exercised this species of magistracy within the bills of mortality were, to the reproach of government, men of profligate lives, needy, mean, ignorant, and rapacious ; and often acted from the most scandalous principles of selfish avarice.

9. The law relating to the highlands of Scotland was well calculated for promoting among the inhabitants of that country such a spirit of industry, as might detach them from their dangerous connexions, and gradually supersede that military genius, which had been so productive of danger and alarm to the southern parts of Great Britain. The king, by this act, was empowered to appoint commissioners for managing the forfeited estates, who were enabled to grant leases of small farms, not above twenty pounds a year, to individuals, who should take an oath to government to reside on and cultivate the lands thus let : it was also provided, that no lease should be granted for a longer term than twenty-one years, and that the lessees should not pay above three-fourths of the annual value. Although these forfeited estates were generally encumbered with claims beyond their real value, and the act directed that they should be disposed of by public sale ; yet, as they lay in the most disaffected parts of the highlands, it was thought necessary that they should remain in the possession of the crown ; because, in case of their being publicly sold, they might be purchased in trust for the families of the persons by whom they were forfeited, and thus the spirit of disaffection would still survive : a valuation therefore was made by the court of session in Scotland, at the joint suit of the crown and the creditors ; and the value being ascertained, the just claimants were paid out of the next aids granted by parliament. The bill met with considerable opposition in the house of peers from the duke of Bedford and the earl of Bath, who probably foresaw that the good effects of this scheme, so laudable in itself, would be frustrated in the execution ; and that the act, instead of answering the purposes for which it was intended, would serve only as a job to gratify the rapacious retainers to the government, and their emissaries in that country : after a warm debate, however, it was adopted by a great majority, and obtained the royal assent.

10. A third law related to certain articles of the national debt, which was now converted into several joint stocks of annuities, transferable at the Bank of England, to be charged on the sinking-fund: a great number of different funds for annuities, established at different times and by different acts, subsisted at this period; so that it was necessary to keep many different accounts, which could not be regulated without considerable trouble and expense, for the removal of which the bill was calculated.

11. In consequence of petitions from the woollen manufacturers of Westmorland and Yorkshire, two bills were brought in, and passed through both houses, by which the ports of Lancaster and Great Yarmouth were opened for the importation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland; but why this privilege was not extended to all the frequented ports of the kingdom it is not easy to conceive, without supposing a little national jealousy on one hand, and a great deal of grievous restraint on the other. Over and above these new laws, some unsuccessful endeavors were used in behalf of commerce and police: a bill was offered for laying farther restrictions on pawnbrokers and brokers, that they might no longer suck the blood of the poor, and act as the accessories of theft and robbery, which was canvased, debated, and made its way through the lower house; but the lords rejected it as a crude scheme, which they could not amend, because it was a money-bill, not cognisable by their house without engaging in a dispute with the commons: another bill was prepared, for giving power to change the punishment of felony, in certain cases, to confinement and hard labor in dock-yards or garrisons: it was the opinion of many, who wished well to their country, and were properly qualified to prosecute such inquiries, that the practice of consigning such a number of wretches to the hands of the executioner, served only, by its frequency, to defeat the purpose of the law, in robbing death of all its terror, and the public of many subjects, who might, notwithstanding their delinquency, be in some measure rendered useful to society: such was the motive that influenced the promoters of this bill, by which it was proposed, in imitation of that economy practised in other countries, to confine felons convicted under certain circumstances to hard labor on the public works of the kingdom: the scheme was adopted by the lower house, but rejected by the lords, who seemed apprehensive of its bringing such discredit on his majesty's dock-yards, as

would discourage persons who valued their reputation from engaging in such employment. Of still greater importance to the nation was the next measure proposed, in a bill for making the militia of England more useful, presented by Mr. Thornton, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who had distinguished himself by his loyalty and patriotism: it was canvased in a committee of the whole house, and underwent divers amendments; but miscarried, through the aversion of the ministry to any project tending to remove or lessen the necessity of maintaining a standing army. A considerable number of petitions for different regulations, in respect to commerce and convenience of traffic, were presented, considered, and left on the table: a remonstrance from the prisoners confined in the jail of the king's-bench, complaining of their miserable situation arising from want of room and other conveniences, being taken into consideration by a committee, among other evidences, they examined that remarkable personage who had signalised himself in different parts of christendom, under the name of Theodore, king of Corsica: though formerly countenanced, and even treated as a sovereign prince by the British ministry, he was now reduced to the forlorn condition of a confined debtor; and, to the reproach of this kingdom, died in prison, surrounded with all the misery of indigence, and overwhelmed with the infirmities of old age. But the most remarkable circumstance of the parliamentary transactions that distinguished this session, was a motion made in both houses for an address to the king, beseeching his majesty, that in time of public tranquillity he would be graciously pleased to avoid entering into subsidiary treaties with foreign princes, which are so burdensome to this nation: this extraordinary proposal was made and strenuously urged by the duke of Bedford, and a vehement debate ensued, in which the earls of Granville, Sandwich, and Halifax opposed it with an exertion of superior abilities; and the question being put, was carried in the negative without a division: the same fate attended it in the house of commons, where it was introduced by lord Harley, and supported by some distinguished orators. The session ended in the latter end of March, when his majesty having given his assent to ninety-five public and private bills, harangued both houses, and prorogued the parliament.⁵

⁵ Among the proceedings of this session, it may not be improper

12. Immediately after the prorogation the king appointed a regency, and set out for Hanover, in order to complete the great scheme he had projected for electing a king of the Romans: Great Britain, in the mean time, produced no event of importance, or any transaction that deserves historical mention, except the ratification of two treaties of peace and commerce with the states of Tripoli and Tunis on the coast of Barbary, concluded by the British consuls in those cities, under the influence and auspices of an English squadron, commanded by commodore Keppel, son to the earl of Albemarle. The tide of luxury still flowed with an impetuous current, bearing down all the mounds of temperance and decorum; while fraud and profligacy struck out new channels, through which they eluded the restrictions of the law and all the vigilance of civil policy: new arts of deception were invented in order to ensnare and ruin the unwary; and some infamous practices, in the way of commerce, were countenanced by persons of rank and importance in the commonwealth: a certain member of parliament was obliged to withdraw himself from his country, in consequence of a discovery, by which it appeared that he had contrived and executed schemes for destroying his own ships at sea, with a view to defraud the insurers.

13. In the course of this year the affairs of the continent did not undergo any material alteration: in France, the religious dispute concerning the doctrine of Jansenius still subsisted between the clergy and the parliament; and seemed to acquire additional fuel from the violence of the archbishop of Paris, a haughty, turbulent prelate, whose pride and bigotry were sufficient to embroil one half of christendom: the northern powers enjoyed a perfect tranquillity: the States-General of the United Provinces were engrossed by plans of national economy: Spain was intent on extending her commerce, bringing her manufactures to perfection, and repressing the insolence of the Barbary corsairs: his Portuguese majesty endeavored, by certain peremptory precautions, to check the exportation of gold coin from his dominions, and insisted on inspecting the books of

to mention a new act for the prevention of murders, which had been shockingly frequent of late, importing, that every criminal convicted of this horrid crime should be executed in one day after his sentence, and his body delivered to the surgeons for dissection; an expedient, which has been found productive of very salutary consequences.

the British merchants settled at Lisbon ; but they refused to comply with this demand, which was contrary to a treaty subsisting between the two crowns ; and he thought proper to acquiesce in their refusal : he was much better employed, in obtaining from the pope an abolition of the annual procession called the *auto da fe*, one of the most horrid triumphs of spiritual tyranny : the peace of Italy was secured by a defensive treaty concluded at Madrid between the emperor, his catholic majesty, the king of the two Sicilies, and the duke of Parma ; to which treaty the king of Sardinia afterwards acceded.

14. With respect to the great scheme of electing the archduke Joseph king of the Romans, fresh objections seemed to rise from different quarters : the good understanding between the courts of Berlin and Hanover received an additional shock, from a dispute concerning the property of East-Friesland, which his Prussian majesty had secured, as heir to the last possessor : his Britannic majesty, as elector of Hanover, having pretensions to the same inheritance, his minister delivered a memorial to the diet of the empire assembled at Ratisbon, demanding that the king of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburg, should be referred to the decision of the Aulic council in regard to his claim to the estates of East-Friesland : but the king, being already in possession, refused to submit his right to the determination of that or any other tribunal ; and when the diet presumed to deliberate on this affair, his envoy entered a strong protest against their proceedings : at the same time, he presented the other ministers with a memorial, tending to refute the elector of Hanover's pretensions to the principality in question.

15. At this juncture his Prussian majesty made no scruple of expressing his resentment against the court of London, which he seemed to consider as an officious cabal, that had no right to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany : his resident at London complained to the British ministry, that divers ships, sailing under the Prussian flag, had been stopped at sea, and even seized by English cruisers ; and that his subjects had been ill-treated and oppressed : he therefore demanded reparation in a peremptory tone, and in the mean time discontinued the payment of the Silesian loan, which he had charged himself with, by an article in the treaty of Breslau : this was a sum of money amounting to £250,000, which the emperor Charles VI. father of the

reigning empress, had borrowed of the subjects of Great Britain, on condition of paying an interest of six per cent. and mortgaging the silver mines of Silesia for the repayment of the principal: these devolved to the king of Prussia with this encumbrance, and he continued to pay the interest punctually till this juncture, when the payment was stopped; and he published a paper, entitled, 'an exposition of the motives which influenced his conduct on this occasion.' In his memorial to the ministry of Great Britain, he alleged that eighteen Prussian ships, and thirty-three neutral vessels, in which the subjects of Prussia were concerned, had been unjustly seized by English privateers; his account of damages amounted to a very considerable sum; and he demanded, in the most dogmatic terms, that the affair should be finally discussed in the term of three months from the date of his remonstrance. The exposition and memorial were subjected to the examination of the ablest civilians in England, who refuted every article of the charge with equal precision and perspicuity: they proved, that captures by sea fell properly under the cognisance of those powers under whose jurisdiction the seizures were made; and therefore his Prussian majesty could not, consistent with the law of nations, determine these disputes in his own tribunals: they demonstrated, by undoubted evidence, the falsity of many facts alleged in the memorial, as well as the fairness of the proceedings by which some few of the Prussian vessels had been condemned; and made it appear that no insult or injury had been offered to the subjects of Prussia: finally, they observed that the Silesian loan was a private transaction of such a nature, that, even if a war had happened between the emperor Charles VI. and his Britannic majesty, this must have been held sacred and inviolable; that when the empress-queen ceded Silesia to the king of Prussia, this monarch charged himself with the repayment of the loan, which being a private debt, and transferrable, was now diffused into different countries, and become the property of many others besides the subjects of Great Britain: they wound up their chain of reasoning by observing, that, according to agreement with the emperor, the whole of this loan should have been repaid in the year 1745; whereas the complaints specified in the Prussian memorial were founded on facts posterior to that period. Whether his Prussian majesty was convinced by these reasons, and desisted from principle, or thought proper to give up his claim on other

political considerations; certain it is, he no longer insisted on satisfaction, but ordered the payments of the Silesian loan to be continued without farther interruption: a report indeed was circulated, that advantage had been taken of the demur by a certain prince, who employed his agents to buy up great part of the loan at a considerable discount.

16. How much soever the king of Prussia may be the subject of censure on this occasion, it must be allowed that, with regard to his own subjects, he acted as a wise legislator and the father of his country: he peopled the deserts of Pomerania, by encouraging with royal bounties a great number of industrious emigrants to settle in that province, the face of which, in a very few years, underwent the most agreeable alterations: above sixty new villages arose amidst a barren waste, and every part of the country exhibited marks of successful cultivation: those solitary and desolate plains, where no human footsteps had for many ages been seen, were now converted into fields of corn: the farms were regularly parceled out; the houses multiplied, and teemed with population; the happy peasants, sheltered in a peculiar manner under the king's protection, sowed their grounds in peace, and reaped their harvests in security: the same care and indulgence were extended to the unpeopled parts of other provinces within the Prussian dominions, and extraordinary encouragement was granted to all French protestants who should come and settle under the government of this political sage.

17. The courts of Vienna and Hanover still employed their chief attention on the scheme of electing a king of the Romans; and the elector of Mentz, influenced by the majority of the college, had convoked an electoral diet for that purpose: but strong protests against this convocation were entered by the electors of Cologne and palatine, insomuch that it was thought expedient to conciliate this last, by taking some steps in his favor with respect to the satisfaction he demanded from the empress-queen and his Britannic majesty: his claim on the court of Vienna amounted to 3,000,000 florins, by way of indemnification for the losses he had sustained during the war: he demanded of the king of England £20,000 sterling for provision and forage furnished to the British troops while they acted on the Maine, and the like sum for the like purposes from the States-General of the United Provinces. The empress-queen could not help remonstrating against this demand as exorbitant in itself,

of the reported flight, which the company could not all
this paper is prepared to pay for.

10. The king of Great Britain, returning from the con-
fession, opened the session of parliament on the eleventh of
January, 1790, with a speech, in which he said that all his views
and negotiations had been directed to pre-
serve and secure the peace of Europe; that he had
acted in all the
the
the

sinking-fund, and the improvement of the public revenue : he recommended to their serious consideration what farther laws and regulations might be necessary for suppressing those crimes and disorders, of which the public had so justly complained ; and concluded with an assurance, that his hearty concurrence and endeavors should never be wanting in any measure that might promote their welfare and prosperity. The addresses in answer to this speech were couched in the usual form of implicit approbation ; but that of the commons did not pass without question : the earl of Egmont took exceptions to one paragraph, in which they acknowledged his majesty's wisdom as well as goodness, in pursuing such measures as must contribute to maintain and render permanent the general tranquillity of Europe ; and declared their satisfaction at the assurances his majesty had received from his allies, that they were all attached to the same salutary object : his lordship expatiated on the absurdity of these compliments at such a juncture, when the peace of Europe was so precarious, and the English nation had so much cause of complaint and dissatisfaction : he was seconded by some other individuals, who declaimed with great vivacity against continental connexions, and endeavored to expose the weakness and folly of the whole system of foreign measures which our ministry had lately pursued : it must be owned indeed that they might have chosen a better opportunity to compliment their sovereign on the permanency of the peace than at this juncture, when they must have seen themselves on the very brink of a new rupture with the most formidable power in Europe : but the truth is, these addresses to the throne had been long considered as compliments of course, implying no more than a respectful attachment to their sovereign ; accordingly, both houses agreed to their respective addresses without division : the two grand committees of supply and of ways and means being established, the business of the house was transacted without much altercation ; and the people had great reason to be satisfied with their moderate proceedings : 10,000 seamen and the usual number of land forces were retained for the service of the ensuing year : they provided for the maintenance of the new colony in Nova Scotia, the civil establishment of Georgia, the support of the castles on the coast of Guinea, and the erection of a new fort at Anamaboa, where the French had attempted to make a settlement ; and

they enabled his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the king of Poland and the elector of Bavaria.

19. The supplies, including grants for former deficiencies and services, for which no provision had been made in the course of the last year, did not exceed £2,132,707. 17s. 2½d. ; in order to defray which expense they assigned the duty on malt, &c. the land-tax at two shillings in the pound, the surplus of certain funds in the exchequer, and the sum of £420,000 out of the sinking-fund ; so that the exceedings amounted to near £300,000.⁶ As for the national debt, it now stood at the enormous sum of £74,368,451. 15s. 1d. ; and the sinking-fund produced £1,735,529. 6s. 10½d.

20. One of the first measures brought on the carpet in the course of this session, was an act containing regulations for the better preservation of the game, of which so great havoc had been made by poachers and other persons unqualified to enjoy that diversion, that the total extirpation of it was apprehended.

21. The next step taken by the commons was an affair of much greater consequence to the community, being a bill for obliging ships the more effectually to perform quarantine, in order to prevent the plague from being imported from foreign countries into Great Britain : for this purpose, it was ordained, that if this dreadful visitation should appear in any ship to the northward of Cape Finisterre, the master or commander should immediately proceed to the harbor of New Grimsby, in one of the islands of Scilly, and there communicate the discovery to some officer of the customs, who should with the first opportunity transmit this intelligence to another custom-house officer in the nearest port of England, to be by him forwarded to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state : in the mean time, the ship should remain at the said island, and not an individual presume to go ashore until his majesty's pleasure should be known : it was also provided, that in case the master of a ship thus infected should not be able to make the islands of Scilly, or be

⁶ Several duties on salt, as well as on red and white herrings delivered out for home consumption, were rendered perpetual, though subject to be redeemed by parliament ; and it was provided, that the debt contracted on these duties being discharged, all the after produce of them should become part of the sinking-fund.

forced up either channel by violent winds, he should not enter any frequented harbor ; but remain in some open road, until he could receive orders from his majesty or the privy-council ; that during this interval he should avoid all intercourse with the shore, or any person or vessel whatsoever, on pain of being deemed guilty of felony, and suffering death without benefit of clergy.

22. In order the more effectually to repress the barbarous practice of plundering ships which have the misfortune to suffer shipwreck, (a practice which prevailed on many different parts of the British coast, to the disgrace of the nation and the scandal of human nature) a bill was prepared, containing clauses to enforce the laws against such savage delinquents, who prowl along the shore, like hungry wolves, in hope of preying on their fellow-creatures ; and certain provisions for the relief of the unhappy sufferers.⁷ When the mutiny-bill fell under deliberation, the earl of Egmont proposed a new clause for empowering and requiring regimental courts-martial to examine witnesses on oath in all their trials : the proposal occasioned a debate, in which the ministry were pretty equally divided ; but the clause was disapproved by the majority, and this annual bill was enacted into a law without any alteration.

23. The next bill was framed in consequence of divers petitions presented by the exporters of corn, who complained that the bounties were not paid, and prayed that the house would make proper provision for that purpose : a bill was accordingly brought in, importing that interest after the rate of three per cent. should be allowed on every debenture for the bounty on the exportation of corn, payable by the receiver-general or cashier of the customs, until the principal could be discharged out of such customs or duties as are appropriated for the payment of this bounty. This premium on the exportation of corn ought not to be

⁷ By the new law, the clerk of the peace in the county where the crime shall be committed, is obliged, on receiving proper information, to prosecute the offenders at the expense of the county : it was likewise proposed, that in case no prosecution of this nature should be commenced within a certain limited time after the information should have been legally given, in that case the county might be sued by the person who had sustained the damage, and obliged to indemnify him for his loss : but this clause was rejected by the majority ; and the bill, having made its way through both houses, received the royal assent.

rob the real subjects of their birthright, disgrace the character of the nation, expose themselves to the most dishonorable participation and intrusion, endanger the constitution both in church and state, and be an indelible reproach on the established religion of the country: some of these orators seemed transported even to a degree of enthusiasm: they prognosticated that the Jews would multiply so much in number, engross such wealth, and acquire so great power and influence in Great Britain, that their persons would be revered, their customs imitated, and Judaism become the fashionable religion of the English: finally, they affirmed that such an act was directly flying in the face of the prophecy, which declares that the Jews shall be a scattered people, without country or fixed habitation, until they shall be converted from their infidelity, and gathered together in the land of their forefathers. These arguments and apprehensions, which were in reality frivolous and chimerical, being industriously circulated among the vulgar, naturally prejudiced against the Jewish people, excited such a ferment throughout the nation, as ought to have deterred the ministry from the prosecution of such an unpopular measure, which however they had courage enough to maintain against all opposition: the bill passed the ordeal of both houses, and his majesty vouchsafed the royal sanction to this law in favor of the Hebrew nation. The truth is, it might have increased the wealth and extended the commerce of Great Britain, had it been agreeable to the people; and as the naturalised Jews would still have been excluded from all civil and military offices, as well as from other privileges enjoyed by their christian brethren, in all probability they would have gradually forsaken their own unprofitable and obstinate infidelity, opened their eyes to the shining truths of the Gospel, and joined their fellow-subjects in embracing the doctrines of christianity: but no ministry ought to risk an experiment, how plausible soever it may be, if they find it, as this was, an object of the people's unconquerable aversion. What rendered this unpopular measure the more impolitic, was the unseasonable juncture at which it was carried into execution; that is, at the eve of a general election for a new parliament, when a minister ought carefully to avoid every step which may give umbrage to the body of the people. The earl of Egmont, who argued against the bill with equal power and vivacity, in describing the effect it might have on that occasion, 'I am amazed,' said he, 'that this considera-

tion makes no impression. When that day, which is not far off, shall arrive, I shall not fear to set my foot on any ground of election in the kingdom, in opposition to any one man among you, or any new christian, who has voted or appeared in favor of this naturalisation.

26. Another bill, transmitted from the upper house, met with a reception equally unfavorable among the commons, though it was sustained on the shoulders of the majority, and thus forced its way to the throne, where it obtained the royal approbation: the practice of solemnising clandestine marriages, so prejudicial to the peace of families, and so often productive of misery to the parties themselves thus united, was an evil that prevailed to such a degree as claimed the attention of the legislature: the sons and daughters of great and opulent families, before they had acquired knowledge and experience, or attained to the years of discretion, were every day seduced in their affections, and inveigled into matches big with infamy and ruin; and these were greatly facilitated by the opportunities that occurred of being united instantaneously by the ceremony of marriage, in the first transport of passion, before the destined victim had time to cool or deliberate on the subject: for this pernicious purpose, there was a band of profligate miscreants, the refuse of the clergy, dead to every sentiment of virtue, abandoned to all sense of decency and decorum, for the most part prisoners for debt or delinquency, and indeed the very outcasts of human society, who hovered about the verge of the Fleet-prison to intercept customers, plying like porters for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage without license or question, in cellars, garrets, or alehouses, to the scandal of religion, and the disgrace of that order which they professed: the ease with which this ecclesiastical sanction was obtained, and the vicious disposition of those wretches, open to the practices of fraud and corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, prostitution, and every curse that could imbitter the married state. A remarkable case of this nature having fallen under the cognisance of the peers, in an appeal from an inferior tribunal, that house ordered the judges to prepare a new bill for preventing such abuses; and one was accordingly framed, under the auspices of lord Hardwicke, at that time lord high chancellor of England: in order to anticipate the bad effects of clandestine marriages, this new statute enacted, that the bans should be regularly published, three suc-

cessive Sundays, in the church of the parish where the parties dwell; that no license should be granted to marry in any place where one of the parties has not dwelt at least a month, except a special license by the archbishop; that if any marriage should be solemnised in any other place than a church or a chapel, without a special license; or in a public chapel, without having published the bans, or obtained a license of some person properly qualified, the marriage should be void, and the person who solemnised it transported for seven years; that marriages, by license, of parties under age, without consent of parent or guardian, should be null and void, unless the party under age be a widow, and the parent refusing consent a widow married again; that when the consent of a mother or guardian is refused from caprice, or such parent or guardian be *non compos mentis*, or beyond sea, the minor should have recourse for relief to the court of chancery; that no suit should be commenced to compel a celebration of marriage, on pretence of any contract; that all marriages should be solemnised before two witnesses, and an entry be made in a book kept for that purpose, whether it was by bans or license, whether either of the parties was under age, or the marriage celebrated with the consent of parent or guardian, and this entry to be signed by the minister, the parties, and the witnesses; that a false license or certificate, or destroying register-books, should be deemed felony, either in principal or accessory, and punished with death. The bill, when first considered in the lower house, gave rise to a variety of debates, in which the members appeared to be divided rather according to their real sentiments, than by the rules of any political distinction; for some principal servants of the government freely differed in opinion from the minister, who countenanced the bill; while, on the other hand, he was, on this occasion, supported by certain chiefs of the opposition, and the disputes were maintained with extraordinary eagerness and warmth: the principal objections imported, that such restrictions on marriage would damp the spirit of love and propagation; promote mercenary matches, to the ruin of domestic happiness, as well as to the prejudice of posterity and population; impede the circulation of property, by preserving the wealth of the kingdom among a kind of aristocracy of opulent families, who would always intermarry within their own pale; subject the poor to many inconveniences and extraordinary expense, from the nature of the forms to be observed; and

throw an additional power into the hands of the chancellor: they affirmed, that no human power had a right to dissolve a vow solemnly made in the sight of Heaven; and that, in proportion as the bill prevented clandestine marriages, it would encourage fornication and debauchery, insomuch as the parties restrained from indulging their mutual passions in an honorable manner, would be tempted to gratify them by stealth, at the hazard of their reputation: in a word, they foresaw a great number of evils in the train of this bill, which have not yet been realised. On the other side, its advocates endeavored to refute these arguments, and some of them spoke with great strength and precision: the bill underwent a great number of alterations and amendments, which were not effected without violent contest and altercation: at length, however, it was floated through both houses on the tide of a great majority, and steered into the safe harbor of royal approbation: certain it is, the abuse of clandestine marriage might have been removed on much easier terms than those imposed on the subject by this bill, which, after all, has been found ineffectual, as it may be easily eluded by a short voyage to the continent, or a moderate journey to North-Britain, where the indissoluble knot may be tied without scruple or interruption.

27. Over and above these new statutes, there were some other subjects which occasionally employed the attention of the commons; such as the state of the British sugar-colonies, which was considered, in consequence of petitions presented by the sugar-refiners and grocers of London, Westminster, and Bristol, complaining of the exorbitant price demanded and given for sugars imported from Jamaica; desiring that the proprietors of land in Jamaica might be obliged to cultivate greater quantities of ground for raising sugar-canes, or that they (the petitioners) might have leave to import muscovado sugars from other countries, when the price of those imported from Jamaica should exceed a certain rate: this remonstrance was taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house; and a great number of evidences and papers being examined, they resolved, that the peopling of Jamaica with white inhabitants, and cultivating the lands thereof, would be the most proper measure for securing that island, and increasing the trade and navigation between it and Great Britain, and other parts of his majesty's dominions; that the endeavors hitherto used by the legislature of Jamaica to increase the number of white inhabitants, and

enforce the cultivation of lands in the manner that might best conduce to the security and defence of that island, had not been effectual for these purposes : the house ordered a bill to be founded on these resolutions ; but this was postponed, until the ministry should receive more full information touching the true state of that island : the planters of Jamaica labored under many grievances and hardships from divers heavy impositions and restrictions ; and a detail of these was transmitted in a representation to his majesty, which was referred to the consideration of the commissioners of trade and plantations. The cause of the planters was defended vigorously, and managed in the house of commons by alderman Beckford, a gentleman of vast possessions in the island of Jamaica, who perfectly well understood and strenuously supported the interest of that his native country.

28. Abortive also proved the attempt to establish a law for keeping an annual register of marriages, births, deaths, the individuals who received alms, and the total number of people in Great Britain : a bill for this purpose was presented by Mr. Potter, a gentleman of pregnant parts and spirited elocution ; who, enumerating the advantages of such a law, observed, that it would ascertain the number of the people, and the collective strength of the nation ; consequently, point out those places where there is a defect or excess of population, and certainly determine whether a general naturalisation would be advantageous or prejudicial to the community : that it would decide what number of men might, on any sudden emergence, be levied for the defence of the kingdom ; and whether the nation is gainer or loser, by sending its natives to settle, and our troops to defend distant colonies : that it would be the means of establishing a local administration of civil government, or a police on certain fixed principles, the want of which has been long a reproach to the nation, a security to vice, and an encouragement to idleness : that in many cases, where all other evidence is wanting, it would enable suitors to recover their right in courts of justice, facilitate an equal and equitable assessment in raising the present taxes, and laying future impositions ; specify the lineal descents, relations, and alliances of families ; lighten the intolerable burdens incurred by the public from innumerable and absurd regulations relating to the poor ; provide for them by a more equal exertion of humanity ; and effectually screen

them from all risk of perishing by hunger, cold, cruelty, and oppression. Whether such a law would have answered the sanguine expectations of its patron, we shall not pretend to determine; though, in our opinion, it must have been attended with very salutary consequences, particularly in restraining the hand of robbery and violence, in detecting fraud, bridling the ferocity of a licentious people, and establishing a happy system of order and subordination: at first the bill met with little opposition, except from Mr. Thornton, member for the city of York, who inveighed against it with great fervor, as a measure that savored of French policy, to which the English nation ever had the utmost aversion: he affirmed, that the method in which it was proposed this register should be kept would furnish the enemies of Great Britain with continual opportunities of knowing the strength or weakness of the nation; that it would empower an ill-designing minister to execute any scheme subversive of public liberty, invest parish and petty officers of the peace with exorbitant powers, and cost the nation about £50,000 a year to carry the scheme into execution: these arguments, which we apprehend are extremely frivolous and inconclusive, had great weight with a considerable number, who joined in the opposition, while the ministry stood neutral: nevertheless, after having undergone some amendments, it was conveyed to the lords, by whom it was at the second reading thrown out, as a scheme of very dangerous tendency. The legislature of Great Britain have, on some occasions, been more startled at the distant shadow of a bare possibility than at the real approach of the most dangerous innovation.

29. From the usual deliberations on civil and commercial concerns, the attention of the parliament, which had seldom or never turned on literary avocations, was called off by an extraordinary subject of this nature. Sir Hans Sloane, the celebrated physician and naturalist, well known through all the civilised countries of Europe for his ample collection of rarities, culled from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as well as of antiquities and curiosities of art, had directed, in his last will, that his valuable museum, together with his numerous library, should be offered to the parliament for the use of the public, in consideration of their paying a certain sum in compensation to his heirs: his terms were embraced by the commons, who agreed to pay £20,000 for the whole, supposed to be worth four times that sum; and a bill was prepared for purchasing this museum, to-

gether with the Harleian collection of manuscripts, so denominated from its founder, Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, lord high treasurer of England, and now offered to the public by his daughter, the duchess of Portland: it was proposed, that these purchases should be joined to the famous Cottonian library, and a suitable repository provided for them and the king's library, which had long lain neglected and exposed to the injuries of the weather in the old dormitory at Westminster: accordingly, trustees and governors, consisting of the most eminent persons of the kingdom, were appointed, and regulations established for the management of this noble museum, which was deposited in Montague-house, one of the most magnificent edifices in England, where it is subjected without reserve to the view of the public, under certain necessary restrictions; and exhibits a glorious monument of national taste and liberality.⁹ In the beginning of June the session of parliament was closed by his majesty, who mentioned nothing particular in his speech, but that the state of foreign affairs had suffered no alteration since their meeting.

30. The genius of the English people is perhaps incompatible with a state of perfect tranquillity: if it is not ruffled by foreign provocations, or agitated by unpopular measures of domestic administration, it will undergo temporary fermentations from the turbulent ingredients inherent in its own constitution: tumults are excited, and faction kindled into rage and inveteracy, by incidents of the most frivolous nature. At this juncture the metropolis of England was divided and discomposed in a surprising manner, by a dispute in itself of so little consequence to the community, that it could not deserve a place in a general history, if it did not serve to convey a characteristic idea of the English nation:

⁹ The library of Sir Hans Sloane consisted of above 50,000 volumes, including about 350 books of drawings, and 3516 manuscripts, besides a multitude of prints. The museum comprehended an infinite number of medals, coins, urns, utensils, seals, cameos, intaglios, precious stones, vessels of agate and jasper, crystals, spars, fossils, metals, minerals, ores, earths, sands, salts, bitumens, sulphurs, amber, ambergris, talcs, miræ, testacea, corals, sponges, echini, echenites, asteriæ, trochi, crustacia, stellæ marinæ, fishes, birds, eggs, and nests, vipers, serpents, quadrupeds, insects, human calculi, anatomical preparations, seeds, gums, roots, dried plants, pictures, drawings, and mathematical instruments. All these articles, with a short account of each, are specified in thirty-eight volumes folio and eight quarto.

in the beginning of the year an obscure damsel, of low degree, whose name was Elizabeth Canning, promulgated a report, which in a little time attracted the attention of the public: she affirmed, that on the first day of the new year, at night, she was seized under Bedlam-wall by two ruffians, who having stripped her of her upper apparel, secured her mouth with a gag, and threatened to murder her should she make the least noise; that they conveyed her on foot about ten miles, to a place called Enfield-wash, and brought her to the house of one Mrs. Wells, where she was pillaged of her stays; and, because she refused to turn prostitute, confined in a cold, damp, separate, and unfurnished apartment, where she remained a whole month without any other sustenance than a few stale crusts of bread, and about a gallon of water; till at length she forced her way through a window, and ran home to her mother's house, almost naked, in the night of the twenty-ninth of January: this story, improbable and unsupported, operated so strongly on the passions of the people in the neighborhood of Aldermanbury, where Canning's mother lived, and particularly among fanatics of all denominations, that they raised voluntary contributions with surprising eagerness, in order to bring the supposed delinquents to justice: warrants were granted for apprehending Wells, who kept the house at Enfield-wash, and her accomplices; the servant-maid, whose name was Virtue Hall; and one Squires, an old gipsy-woman, which last was charged by Canning of having robbed her of her stays. Wells, though acquitted of the felony, was punished as a bawd: Hall turned evidence for Canning, but afterwards recanted: Squires, the gipsy, was convicted of the robbery, though she produced undoubted evidence to prove that she was at Abbotsbury in Dorsetshire that very night in which the felony was said to be committed; and Canning and her friends fell into divers contradictions during the course of the trial. By this time the prepossession of the common people in her favor had risen to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that the most palpable truths which appeared on the other side had no other effect than that of exasperating them to the most dangerous degree of rage and revenge: some of the witnesses for Squires, though persons of unblemished character, were so intimidated, that they durst not enter the court; and those who had resolution enough to give evidence in her behalf, ran the risk of assassination from the vulgar that surrounded the place. On this occasion, Sir Crisp Gas-

coyne, lord-mayor of London, behaved with that laudable courage and humanity which ought ever to distinguish the chief magistrate of such a metropolis : considering the improbability of the charge ; the heat, partiality, and blind enthusiasm with which it was prosecuted ; and being convinced of the old woman's innocence by a great number of affidavits, voluntarily sent up from the country by persons of unquestionable credit, he, in conjunction with some other worthy citizens, resolved to oppose the torrent of vulgar prejudice : application was made to the throne for mercy ; the case was referred to the attorney and solicitor-general, who, having examined the evidences on both sides, made their report in favor of Squires to the king and council ; and this poor old creature was indulged with his majesty's pardon. This affair was now swelled up into such a faction as divided the greater part of the kingdom, including the rich as well as the poor, the high as well as the humble : pamphlets and pasquinades were published on both sides of the dispute, which became the general topic of conversation in all assemblies ; and people of all ranks espoused one or other party with as much warmth and animosity as had ever inflamed the whigs and tories, even at the most rancorous period of their opposition : subscriptions were opened, and large sums levied, on one side, to prosecute for perjury the persons on whose evidence the pardon had been granted ; on the other hand, those who had interested themselves for the gipsy, resolved to support her witnesses, and, if possible, detect the imposture of Canning : bills of perjury were preferred on both sides : the evidences for Squires were tried and acquitted : at first Canning absconded ; but afterwards surrendered to take her trial, and being, after a long hearing, found guilty, was transported to the British colonies : the zeal of her friends, however, seemed to be inflamed by her conviction ; and those who carried on the prosecution against her were insulted, even to the danger of their lives : they supplied her with necessaries of all sorts ; paid for her transportation in a private ship, where she enjoyed all the comforts and conveniences that could be afforded in that situation ; and furnished her with such recommendations as secured to her a very agreeable reception in New-England.

31. Next to this very remarkable transaction, the incident that principally distinguished this year in England was the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, a native of North-

Britain, and brother to Cameron of Lochiel, chief of that numerous and warlike tribe who had taken the field with the prince-pretender. After the battle of Culloden, where he was dangerously wounded, he found means to escape to the continent: his brother, the doctor, had accompanied him in all his expeditions, though not in a military capacity; and was included with him in the act of attainder passed against those who had been concerned in the rebellion. Notwithstanding the imminent danger attending such an attempt, the doctor returned privately to Scotland, in order, as it was reported, to recover a sum of money belonging to the pretender, which had been embezzled by his adherents in that country: whatever may have been his inducement to revisit his native country under such a predicament, certain it is, he was discovered, apprehended, conducted to London, confined in the Tower, examined by the privy-council, and produced in the court of king's-bench, where his identity being proved by several witnesses, he received sentence of death, and was executed at Tyburn. The terror and resentment of the people, occasioned by the rebellion, having by this time subsided, their humane passions did not fail to operate in favor of this unfortunate gentleman: their pity was mingled with esteem, arising from his personal character, which was altogether unblemished; and his deportment on this occasion, which they could not help admiring, as the standard of manly fortitude and decorum: the populace, though not very subject to tender emotions, were moved to compassion and even to tears, by his behavior at the place of execution; and many sincere well-wishers to the present establishment thought that the sacrifice of this victim, at such a juncture, could not redound either to its honor or security.

32. The turbulent spirit, which is never totally extinguished in this island, manifested itself in sundry tumults that broke out in different parts of South-Britain: the price of provision, and bread in particular, being raised to an exorbitant rate in consequence of an absurd exportation of corn for the sake of the bounty, a formidable body of colliers and other laboring people raised an insurrection at Bristol, began to plunder the corn-vessels in the harbor, and commit such outrages in the city, that the magistrates were obliged to have recourse to the military power: a troop of dragoons were sent to their assistance, and the insurgents were quelled, though not without some bloodshed: commotions of the same kind were excited in Yorkshire, Man-

chester, and several other places in the northern counties : at Leeds, a detachment of the king's troops were obliged in their own defence to fire on the rioters, eight or nine of whom were killed on the spot ; and, indeed, so little care had been taken to restrain the licentious insolence of the vulgar by proper laws and regulations, duly executed under the eye of the civil magistracy, that a military power was found absolutely necessary to maintain the peace of the kingdom.

33. The tranquillity of the continent was not endangered by any new contest or disturbance ; yet the breach between the clergy and the parliament of Paris was every day more and more widened, and the people were pretty equally divided between superstition and a regard for civil liberty : the parliament having caused divers ecclesiastics to be apprehended for having refused to administer the sacraments to persons in extremity who refused to subscribe to the bull Unigenitus, all of them declared they acted according to the direction of the archbishop of Paris : application being made to this haughty prelate, he treated the deputies of the parliament with the most supercilious contempt, and even seemed to brave the power and authority of that body ; they, on the other hand, proceeded to take cognisance of the recusant clergy until their sovereign ordered them to desist : then they presented remonstrances to his majesty, reminding him of their privileges and the duty of their station, which obliged them to do justice on all delinquents : in the mean time, they continued to perform their functions, and even commenced a prosecution against the bishop of Orleans, whom they summoned to attend their tribunal : next day they received from Versailles a *lettre de cachet*, accompanied by letters patent, commanding them to suspend all prosecutions relating to the refusal of the sacraments, and ordering the letters patent to be registered : instead of obeying these commands, they presented new remonstrances, for answers to which they were referred to the king's former declarations : in consequence of this intimation, they had spirit enough to resolve, ' that, whereas certain evil-minded persons had prevented truth from reaching the throne, the chambers remained assembled, and all other business should be suspended.' The affair was now become very serious : his majesty, by fresh letters patent, renewed his orders, and commanded them to proceed with their ordinary business, on pain of incurring his displeasure : they forthwith came

to another resolution, importing, that they could not obey this injunction without a breach of their duty and their oath: next day *lettres de cachet* were issued, banishing to different parts of the kingdom all the members, except those of the great chamber, which the court did not find more tractable than their brethren: they forthwith resolved to abide by the two resolutions mentioned above; and, as an instance of their unshaken fortitude, ordered an ecclesiastic to be taken into custody for refusing the sacraments: this spirited measure involved them in the fate of the rest; for they were also exiled from Paris, the citizens of which did not fail to extol their conduct with the loudest encomiums, and at the same time to express their resentment against the clergy, who could not stir abroad without being exposed to violence or insult. The example of the parliament of Paris was followed by that of Rouen, which had courage enough to issue orders for apprehending the bishop of Evreux, because he had refused to appear when summoned to their tribunal: their decrees on this occasion being annulled by the king's council of state, they presented a bold remonstrance, which, however, had no other effect than that of exasperating the ministry: a grand deputation being ordered to attend the king, they were commanded to desist from intermeddling in disputes relating to the refusal of the sacraments, and to register this injunction: at their return, they had recourse to a new remonstrance; and one of their principal counsellors, who had spoken freely in the debates on this subject, was arrested by a party of dragoons, who carried him prisoner to the castle of Dourlens: in a word, the body of the people declared for the parliament in opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny; and, had they not been overawed by a formidable standing army, would certainly have taken up arms in defence of their liberties; while the monarch weakly suffered himself to be governed by priestly delusions, and, secure in his military appointment, seemed to set the rest of his subjects at defiance: apprehensive, however, that these disputes would put an intire stop to the administration of justice, he by letters patent established a royal chamber for the prosecution of suits civil and criminal, which was opened with a solemn mass performed in the queen's chapel at the Louvre, where all the members assisted: on this occasion another difficulty occurred: the letters patent, constituting this new court, ought to have been registered by the parliament, which was now no more: to

remedy this defect, application was made to the inferior court of the Chatelet, which refusing to register them, one of its members was committed to the Bastile, and another absconded: intimidated by this exertion of despotic power, they allowed the king's officers to enter the letters in their register, but afterwards adopted more vigorous resolutions: the lieutenant civil appearing in their court, all the counsellors rose up and retired, leaving him alone, and on the table an *arrêt*, importing, that whereas the confinement of one of their members, the prosecution of another who durst not appear, and the present calamities of the nation gave them just apprehension for their own persons, they had, after mature deliberation, thought proper to retire: thus a dangerous ferment was excited by the king's espousing the cause of spiritual insolence and oppression against the general voice of his people and the plainest dictates of reason and common sense.

34. The property of East-Friesland continued still to be the source of contention between the electors of Brandenburg and Hanover: the interests of his Britannic majesty being powerfully supported by the house of Austria, the minister of that power at the diet proposed that the affair should be taken into immediate consideration: he was seconded by the minister of Brunswick; but the envoy from Brandenburg, having protested in form against this procedure, withdrew from the assembly, and the Brunswick minister made a counter-protestation, after which he also retired: then a motion being made that this dispute should be referred to the decision of the Aulic council at Vienna, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of fourteen voices: his Prussian majesty's final declaration with regard to this affair was afterwards presented to the diet, and answered in the sequel by a memorial from his Britannic majesty as elector of Hanover: some other petty disputes likewise happened between the regency of Hanover and the city of Munster; and the former claiming some bailiwicks in the territories of Bremen, sequestered certain revenues belonging to this city in Stade and Ferden, till these claims should be satisfied.

35. The court of Vienna, having dropped for the present the scheme for electing a king of the Romans, concluded a very extraordinary treaty with the duke of Modena, stipulating that his serene highness should be appointed perpetual governor of the duchy of Milan, with a salary of 90,000 florins, on condition that he should maintain a body of 4000

men, to be at the disposal of the empress-queen; that her imperial majesty should have a right to place garrisons in the citadels of Mirandola and Reggio, as well as in the castle of Massa-Carrara; that the archduke Peter Leopold, third son of their imperial majesties, should espouse the daughter of the hereditary prince of Modena, by the heiress of Massa-Carrara; and in case of her dying without heirs male, the estates of that house and the duchy of Mirandola should devolve to the archduke; but in case of her having male issue, that she should enjoy the principality of Fermia, and other possessions in Hungary, claimed by the duke of Modena, for her fortune: finally, that on the extinction of the male branch of the house of Este, all the dominions of the duke of Modena should devolve to the house of Austria.

36. While the powers on the continent of Europe were thus employed in strengthening their respective interests, and concerting measures for preventing any interruption of the general tranquillity, matters were fast ripening to a fresh rupture between the subjects of Great Britain and France in different parts of North-America. We have already observed that commissaries had been appointed, and conferences opened at Paris, to determine the disputes between the two crowns, relating to the boundaries of Nova Scotia; and we took notice in general of the little arts of evasion practised by the French commissaries, to darken and perplex the dispute, and elude the pretensions of his Britannic majesty: they persisted in employing these arts of chicanery and cavil with such perseverance, that the negociation proved abortive, the conferences broke up, and every thing seemed to portend approaching hostilities: but, before we proceed to a detail of the incidents which were the immediate forerunners of the war, we will endeavor to convey a just idea of the dispute concerning Nova Scotia, which, we apprehend, is but imperfectly understood, though of the utmost importance to the interest of Great Britain.

37. Nova Scotia, called by the French Acadia, lies between the forty-fourth and fiftieth degrees of north latitude, having New England and the Atlantic ocean to the south and south-west, and the river and gulf of St. Lawrence to the north and north-east: the winter, which continues near seven months in this country, is intensely cold; and without the intervention of any thing that can be called spring, it is immediately succeeded by a summer, the heat of which is almost insupportable, but of no long continuance: the soil

in general is thin and barren, though some parts of it are said to be equal to the best land in England: the whole country is covered with a perpetual fog, even after the summer has commenced. It was first possessed by the French, before they made any establishment in Canada; who, by dint of industry and indefatigable perseverance, in struggling with the many difficulties they necessarily labored under in the infancy of this settlement, subsisted tolerably well, and increased considerably, with very little assistance from Europe; whilst we even now should lose the immense expense we have already been at to settle a colony there, and should see all our endeavors to that end defeated, if the support of the royal hand was withdrawn but for a moment. This country, by the possession of which an enemy would be enabled greatly to annoy all our other colonies, and, if in the hands of the French, would be of singular service both to their fishery and their sugar islands, has frequently changed hands from the French to the English, and from the English back again to the French, till our right to it was finally settled by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, by which all the country included within the ancient limits of what was called Nova Scotia or Acadia, was ceded to the English: this article was confirmed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but, for want of ascertaining distinctly what were the bounds intended to be fixed by the two nations with respect to this province, disputes arose, and commissaries, as we have observed, were appointed by both sides, to adjust the litigation.

38. The commissaries of the king of Great Britain conformed themselves to the rule laid down by the treaty itself, and assigned those as the ancient limits of this country which had always passed as such, from the very earliest time of any certainty down to the conclusion of the treaty; which the two crowns had frequently declared to be such, and which the French had often admitted and allowed: these limits are, the southern bank of the river St. Lawrence to the north, and Pentagoet to the west: the country situated between these boundaries is that which the French received by the treaty of St. Germain, in the year 1632, under the general name of Acadia: of this country, thus limited, they continued in possession from that period to the year 1654, when a descent was made on it, under the command of colonel Sedgwick: that these were then the undisputed limits of Acadia, his Britannic majesty's commissaries

plainly proved, by a letter of Louis XIII. to the sieurs Charnisay and La Tour, regulating their jurisdictions in Acadia; by the subsequent commissions of the French king to the same persons, as governors of Acadia, in the sequel; and by that which was afterwards granted to the sieur Denys in the year 1654; all of which extend the bounds of this country from the river St. Lawrence to Pentagoet and New England. That these were the notions of the French with respect to the ancient limits of this province was farther confirmed by the demand made by their ambassador, in the course of that same year, for the restitution of the forts Pentagoet, St. John's, and Port Royal, as forts situated in Acadia. In the year 1662, on the revival of the claim of France to the country of Acadia, which had been left undecided by the treaty of Westminster, the French ambassador, then at the court of London, assigned Pentagoet as the western and the river St. Lawrence as the northern boundary of that country; and alleged the restitution of Acadia in the year 1632, and the possession taken by France in consequence thereof, as as well as the continuation of that possession, with the same limits, to the year 1654, as proofs of the equity and validity of the claim he then made; in which claim, and in the manner of supporting it, he was particularly approved of by the court of France: the same court afterwards thought it so clear, on former determinations and her own former possessions, that the true ancient boundaries of Acadia were Pentagoet to the west and the river St. Lawrence to the north, that she desired no specification of limits in the treaty of Breda, but was contented with the restitution of Acadia, generally named; and, on a dispute which arose in the execution of this treaty, France re-asserted, and Great Britain, after some discussion, agreed to the above-mentioned limits of Acadia; and France obtained possession of that country, so bounded, under the treaty of Breda. The sense of France on this subject, in the years 1685 and 1687, was also clearly manifested in the memorials delivered at that time by the French ambassador at the court of London, complaining of some encroachments made by the English on the coast of Acadia: he described the country as extending from isle Percée, which lies at the entrance of the river St. Lawrence, to St. George's island; and again, in a subsequent complaint made by M. Barillon and M. de Bonrepaus to the court of Great Britain, against the judge of Pemaquid, for having seized the effects of a French merchant at Pen-

tagoet, which, said they, was situated in Acadia, as restored to France by the treaty of Breda: to explain the sense of France, touching the bounds of Acadia in the year 1700, the British commissaries produced a proposal of the French ambassador, then residing in Great Britain, to restrain the limits of that country to the river St. George: they also instanced the surrender of Port Royal in the year 1710, in which Acadia is described with the same limits with which France had received it in the years 1632 and 1667: and farther to ascertain the sense of both crowns, even at the treaty of Utrecht itself, they produced the queen of Great Britain's instructions to her ambassadors in the year 1711, in which they were directed to insist, 'that his most christian majesty should quit all claim or title, by virtue of any former treaty or otherwise, to the country called Nova Scotia, and expressly to Port Royal, otherwise Annapolis Royal.' To these they added a manifest demonstration, founded on indisputable facts, proving that the recital of the several sorts of right which France had ever pretended to this country, and the specification of both terms, Acadia or Nova Scotia, were intended by Great Britain to obviate all doubts which had ever been made concerning the limits of Acadia, and to comprehend with more certainty all that country which France had ever received as such; finally, to specify what France considered as Acadia: during the treaty, they referred to the offers of that crown in the year 1712, in which she proposed to restrain the boundary of Acadia to the river St. George, as a departure from its real boundary, in case Great Britain would restore to her the possession of that country. From all these facts it plainly appears that Great Britain demanded nothing but what the fair construction of the words of the treaty of Utrecht necessarily implies; and that it is impossible for any thing to have more evident marks of candor and fairness in it than the demand of the English on this occasion: from the variety of evidence brought in support of this claim, it evidently results, that the English commissaries assigned no limits as the ancient limits of Acadia, but those which France herself determined to be such in the year 1632, and which she possessed, in consequence of that determination, till the year 1654; that in 1662 France claimed, and received in 1669, the country which Great Britain now claims as Acadia, restored to France by the treaty of Breda under that general denomination: that France never considered Acadia as having any

other limits than those which were assigned to it from the year 1632 to the year 1710; and that, by the treaty of Utrecht, she engaged to transfer that very same country as Acadia, which France has always asserted and possessed, and Great Britain now claims as such: should the crown of France therefore be ever willing to decide what are the ancient limits of Acadia, by her own declarations so frequently made in like discussions on the same point, by her possessions of this country for almost a century, and by her description of Acadia during the negotiation of that very treaty on which this doubt is raised, she cannot but admit the claim of Great Britain to be conformable to the treaty of Utrecht, and to the description of the country transferred to Great Britain by the twelfth article of that treaty: there is a consistency in the claim of the English, and a completeness in the evidence brought in support of it, which is seldom seen in discussions of this sort; for it rarely happens, in disputes of such a nature between two crowns, that either of them can safely offer to have its pretensions decided by the known and repeated declarations, or the possessions of the other. To answer the force of this detail of conclusive historical facts, and to give a new turn to the real question in dispute, the French commissaries in their memorial laid it down as a distinction made by the treaty of Utrecht, that the ancient limits of Acadia, referred to by that treaty, are different from any with which that country may have passed under the treaties of St. Germain and Breda; and then endeavored to show, on the testimonies of maps and historians, that Acadia and its limits were anciently confined to the south-eastern part of the peninsula: in support of this system, the French commissaries had recourse to ancient maps and historians, who, as they asserted, had ever confined Acadia to the limits they assigned: they alleged, that those commissions of the French government over Acadia, which the English cited as evidence of the limits they claimed, were given as commissions over Acadia and the country around it, and not over Acadia only; that the whole of the country claimed by the English as Acadia, could not possibly be supposed ever to be considered as such, because many parts of that territory always did and still do preserve particular and distinct names: they affirmed New France to be a province in itself; and argued, that many parts of what we claim as Acadia can never have been in Acadia, because historians and the French commissions of

government expressly place them in New France: they asserted, that no evidence can be drawn of the opinion of any crown, with respect to the limits of any country, from its declaration during the negotiation of a treaty; and, in the end, relying on maps and historians for the ancient limits of Acadia, they pretended that the express restitution of St. Germain and the possession taken by France in consequence of the treaty of Breda, after a long discussion of the limits, and the declaration of France during the negotiation of the treaty of Utrecht, were foreign to the point in question. In refutation of these maxims, the English commissaries proved, from an examination of the maps and historians cited by the French in support of their system, that if this question was to be decided on the authorities which they themselves allowed to belong and to be applicable to this discussion, the limits which they assigned were utterly inconsistent with the best maps of all countries, which are authorities in point for almost every part of the claim of Great Britain: they showed, that the French historians, Champlain and Denys, and particularly this last, with his commission in the year 1655, assigned the same northern and western limits to Acadia which they did; and that Escarbot, another of their historians, as far as any evidence can be drawn from his writings, agrees intirely with the former two: they observed, that all these evidences fall in with and confirm the better authorities of treaties, and the several transactions between the two crowns for near a century past; and that the French commissaries, by deviating from treaties, and the late proceedings of the two crowns, to ancient historians and maps, only made a transition from an authentic to an insufficient sort of evidence, and led the English commissaries into an inquiry, which proved that both the proper and the improper, the regular and the foreign evidence, on which this matter had been rested, equally confuted the limits alleged by the French commissaries as the ancient limits of Acadia.

CHAP. XXIII.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1753.

1. Ambitious schemes of the French in North-America—2. Rise and conduct of the Ohio company—3. Letter from the governor of Virginia to the French commander at Rivière-au-Bœuf—4. Perfidious practices of the French in Nova Scotia—5. Major Laurence defeats the French neutrals—6. British ambassador at Paris amused with general promises—7. Session opened—8. Supplies granted—9. Repeal of the act for naturalising Jews—10. Motion for repealing a former act favorable to the Jews—11. East-India mutiny-bill—12. Case of Leheup—13. Session closed—14. Death of Mr. Pelham. Change in the ministry—15. New parliament assembled and prorogued—16. Disputes in the Irish parliament—17. Transactions in the East-Indies—18. Account of the English settlements on the Malabar and Coromandel coast—19. Dispute about the government of Arcot—20. Mahommed Ali Khan supported by the English—21. Mr. Clive takes Arcot—22. and defeats the enemy in the plains of Arani, and at Koveripank—23. He reduces three forts, and takes M. d'Anteuil—24. Chunda Saib taken and put to death, and his army routed—25. Convention between the East-India companies of England and France—26. General view of the British colonies in North-America—27. New England and New York—28. New Jersey—29. Pennsylvania—30. Maryland—31. Virginia—32. The two Carolinas—33. Georgia—34. The French surprise Log's-town, on the Ohio—35. Conference with the Indians at Albany—36. Colonel Washington defeated and taken by the French on the Ohio—37. Divisions among the British colonies—38. The hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel professes the Roman catholic religion—39. Parliament of Paris recalled from exile—40. Affairs of Spain and Portugal—41. Session opened—42. Supplies granted—43. Bill in behalf of Chelsea pensioners—44. Oxfordshire election—45. Message from the king to the house of commons—46. Court of Versailles amuses the English ministry—47. Session closed.

1. WHILE the British ministry depended on the success of the conferences between the commissaries of the two crowns at Paris, the French were actually employed in executing their plans of encroachment on the British colonies in North-America: their scheme was to engross the whole fur-trade of that continent, and they had already made great progress in extending a chain of forts, connecting their

settlements on the river Mississippi with their possessions in Canada, along the great lakes of Erie and Ontario, which last issues into the river St. Lawrence : by these means they hoped to exclude the English from all communication and traffic with the Indian nations, even those that lay contiguous to the British settlements ; and confine them within a line of their drawing, beyond which they should neither extend their trade nor plantations : their commercial spirit did not keep pace with the gigantic strides of their ambition ; they could not supply all those Indians with the necessaries they wanted ; so that many of the natives had recourse to the English settlements ; and this commerce produced a connexion, in consequence of which the British adventurers ventured to travel with merchandise as far as the banks of the river Ohio, that runs into the Mississippi, a great way on the other side of the Apalachian mountains, beyond which none of our colonists had ever attempted to penetrate. The tract of country lying along the Ohio is so fertile, pleasant, and inviting, and the Indians, called Twightees, who inhabit those delightful plains, were so well disposed towards a close alliance with the English, that, as far back as the year 1716, Mr. Spotswood, governor of Virginia, proposed a plan for erecting a company to settle such lands on this river as should be ceded to them by treaty with the natives ; but the design was at that time frustrated, partly by the indolence and timidity of the British ministry, who were afraid of giving umbrage to the French, and partly by the jealousies and divisions subsisting between the different colonies of Great Britain : the very same circumstances encouraged the French to proceed in their project of invasion : at length, they penetrated from the banks of the river St. Lawrence across Lake Champlain ; and on the territory of New York built with impunity, and indeed without opposition, the fort of Crown Point, the most insolent and dangerous encroachment that they had hitherto carried into execution.

2. Governor Spotswood's scheme for an Ohio company was revived immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle ; when certain merchants of London, who traded to Maryland and Virginia, petitioned the government on this subject, and were indulged not only with a grant of a great tract of ground to the southward of Pennsylvania, which they promised to settle, but also with an exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians on the banks of the river Ohio : this design

no sooner transpired, than the French governor of Canada took the alarm, and wrote letters to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, giving them to understand, that as the English inland traders had encroached on the French territories and privileges, by trading with the Indians under the protection of his sovereign, he would seize them wherever they could be found, if they did not immediately desist from that illicit practice: no regard being paid to this intimation, he next year caused three British traders to be arrested: their effects were confiscated, and they themselves conveyed to Quebec, from whence they were sent prisoners to Rochelle in France, and there detained in confinement: in this situation they presented a remonstrance to the earl of Albemarle, at that time English ambassador at Paris; and he claiming them as British subjects, they were set at liberty. Although, in answer to his lordship's memorial, the court of Versailles promised to transmit orders to the French governors in America to use all their endeavors for preventing any disputes that might have a tendency to alter the good correspondence established between the two nations; in all probability the directions given were seemingly the very reverse of these professions; for the French commanders, partisans, and agents in America took every step their busy genius could suggest, to strengthen their own power and weaken the influence of the English, by embroiling them with the Indian nations: this task they found the more easy, as the natives had taken offence against the English, when they understood that their lands were given away without their knowledge, and that there was a design to build forts in their country without their consent and concurrence: indeed the person whom the new company employed to survey the banks of the Ohio concealed his design so carefully, and behaved in other respects in such a dark, mysterious manner, as could not fail to arouse the jealousy of a people naturally inquisitive, and very much addicted to suspicion. How the company proposed to settle this acquisition in despite of the native possessors it is not easy to conceive; and it is still more unaccountable that they should have neglected the natives, whose consent and assistance they might have procured at a very small expense: instead of acting such a fair, open, and honorable part, they sent a Mr. Gist to make a clandestine survey of the country, as far as the falls of the river Ohio; and, as we have observed above, his conduct alarmed both the French and Indians: the erection of this

company was equally disagreeable to the separate traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania, who saw themselves on the eve of being deprived of a valuable branch of traffic by the exclusive charter of a monopoly; and therefore they employed their emissaries to foment the jealousy of the Indians.

3. The French having in a manner commenced hostilities against the English, and actually built forts on the territories of the British allies at Niagara, and on the lake Erie, Mr. Hamilton, governor of Pennsylvania, communicated this intelligence to the assembly of the province, and represented the necessity of erecting truck-houses, or places of strength and security, on the river Ohio, to which the traders might retire in case of insult or molestation: the proposal was approved, and money granted for the purpose; but the assembly could not agree about the manner in which they should be erected; and in the mean time the French fortified themselves at leisure, and continued to harass the traders belonging to the British settlements. Repeated complaints of these encroachments and depredations being represented to Mr. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, he, towards the latter end of this very year, sent major Washington with a letter to the commanding officer of a fort which the French had built on the *Rivière-au-Bœuf*, which falls into the Ohio, not far from the lake Erie: in this letter Mr. Dinwiddie expressed his surprise that the French should build forts and make settlements on the river Ohio, in the western part of the colony of Virginia, belonging to the crown of Great Britain: he complained of these encroachments as well as of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain, in open violation of the law of nations, and of the treaties actually subsisting between the two crowns: he desired to know by whose authority and instructions his Britannic majesty's territories had been invaded; and required him to depart in peace, without farther prosecuting a plan which must interrupt the harmony and good understanding which his majesty was desirous to continue and cultivate with the most christian king. To this spirited intimation the officer replied, that it was not his province to specify the evidence and demonstrate the right of the king his master to the lands situated on the river Ohio; but he would transmit the letter to the marquis du Quesne, and act according to the answer he should receive from that nobleman: in the mean time, he said he did not think himself

obliged to obey the summons of the English governor; that he commanded the fort by virtue of an order from his general, to which he was determined to conform with all the precision and resolution of a good officer. Mr. Dinwiddie expected no other reply, and therefore had projected a fort to be erected near the forks of the river: the province undertook to defray the expense, and the stores for that purpose were already provided; but by some fatal oversight, the concurrence of the Indians was neither obtained nor solicited, and therefore they looked on this measure with an evil eye, as a manifest invasion of their property.

4. While the French thus industriously extended their encroachments to the southward, they were not idle in the gulf of St. Lawrence, but seized every opportunity of distressing the English settlement of Nova Scotia. We have already observed, that the town of Halifax was no sooner built, than they spirited up the Indians of that neighborhood to commit hostilities against the inhabitants, some of whom they murdered, and others they carried prisoners to Louisbourg, where they sold them for arms and ammunition, the French pretending that they maintained this traffic from motives of pure compassion, in order to prevent the massacre of the English captives, whom however they did not set at liberty without exacting an exorbitant ransom: as these skulking parties of Indians were generally directed and headed by French commanders, repeated complaints were made to the governor of Louisbourg, who still answered that his jurisdiction did not extend over the Indians, and that their French conductors were chosen from the inhabitants of Annapolis, who thought proper to remain in that country after it was ceded to the English, and were in fact the subjects of Great Britain: even while the conferences were carried on for ascertaining the limits of Nova Scotia, the governor of Canada detached M. la Corne, with some regular troops and a body of militia, to fortify a post on the bay of Chignecto, on pretence that this and a great part of the peninsula belonged to his government: the possession of this post not only secured to the Indians of the continent a free entrance into the peninsula and a safe retreat in case of pursuit, but also encouraged the French inhabitants of Annapolis to rise in open rebellion against the English government.

5. In the spring of the year 1750, general Cornwallis, governor of Halifax, detached major Laurence with a few

men to reduce them to obedience: at his approach they burned their towns to ashes, forsook their possessions, and threw themselves under the protection of M. la Corne, who, thus reinforced, found himself at the head of 1500 men, well provided with arms and ammunition: major Laurence, being unable to cope with him in the field, demanded an interview, at which he desired to know for what cause the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia had shaken off their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and violated the neutrality which they had hitherto affected to profess: the French officer, without pretending to account for their behavior, gave him to understand, in general terms, that he had orders to defend his post, and these orders he was determined to obey: the English major finding himself too weak to attack their united force, and having no orders to commit hostilities against any but the Indians and their open abettors, returned to Halifax, without having been able to fulfil the purpose of his expedition. Immediately after his retreat, the French neutrals (so they were called) returned to the habitations which they had abandoned; and, in conjunction with the Indians, renewed their depredations on the inhabitants of Halifax and its dependent settlements: the English governor, justly incensed at these outrages, and seeing they would neither submit to the English government themselves, nor allow others to enjoy it with tranquillity, resolved to expel them effectually from the country they so ill deserved to possess: major Laurence was again detached with 1000 men, transported by sea to Chignecto, where he found the French and Indians intrenched, in order to dispute his landing: notwithstanding this opposition, he made a descent with a few companies; received and returned a smart fire; and, rushing into their intrenchments, obliged them to fly with the utmost precipitation, leaving a considerable number killed and wounded on the spot: the fugitives saved themselves by crossing a river, on the farther bank of which la Corne stood at the head of the troops, drawn up in order to receive them as friends and dependents: he had by this time erected a fort, which he denominated Beau Sejour; and now the English built another on the opposite side of the river, which was called after its founder St. Laurence: this being provided with a good garrison, served as a check on the French, and in some measure restrained the incursions of their barbarians: not that it effectually answered this purpose; for the Indians and neutrals still seized

every opportunity of attacking the English in the interior parts of the peninsula : in the course of the succeeding year they surprised the little town of Dartmouth, on the other side of Halifax-bay, where they killed and scalped a great number of people, and carried off some prisoners : for these expeditions the French always supplied them with boats canoes, arms, and ammunition ; and indeed they were conducted with such care and secresy, that it was almost impossible to prevent their success : one sure remedy against the sudden and stolen incursions of those savages might have been found in the use of stanch hounds, which would have run on the foot, detected the skulking parties of the Indians, and frustrated all their ambuscades ; but this expedient, so easy and practicable, was never tried, though frequently recommended in public to the attention of the government and the consideration of the colonists : the Indians continued to plunder and massacre the British subjects with impunity, and were countenanced by the French government in that country, who now strengthened their lodgement on the neck of the peninsula with an additional fort, distinguished by the name of Baie Verte ; and built a third at the mouth of St. John's river, on the north side of the bay of Fundy.

6. All these previous steps to a rupture with England were taken with great deliberation, while the commissaries of both nations were disputing about the limits of the very country which they thus arrogantly usurped ; and they proceeded to perfect their chain of forts to the southward, without paying the least regard to the expostulations of the English governors, or to a memorial presented at Versailles by the earl of Albemarle, the British minister : he demanded that express orders should be sent to M. de la Jonquière, the commander for the French in America, to desist from violence against the British subjects in that country ; that the fort of Niagara should be immediately rased ; that the subjects of Great Britain, who had been made prisoners, should be set at liberty, and indemnified for the losses they had sustained ; and that the persons who had committed these excesses should be punished in an exemplary manner : true it is, six Englishmen, whom they had unjustly taken, were immediately dismissed ; and the ambassador amused with general promises of sending such instructions to the French governor in America as should anticipate any cause of complaint for the future ; but, far

from having any intention to perform these promises, the court of Versailles, without all doubt, exhorted La Jonquière to proceed in bringing its ambitious schemes to perfection.

7. Every incident in America seemed to prognosticate war, when the session of parliament was opened on the fifteenth of November; yet his majesty, on this occasion, told them that the events of the year had not made it necessary for him to offer any thing in particular to their consideration relating to foreign affairs: he even declared, that the continuance of the public tranquillity and the general state of Europe remained on the same footing as when they last parted; and assured them of his steadiness in pursuing the most effectual measures to preserve to his people the blessings of peace: he expressed uncommon concern, that the horrid crimes of robbery and murder were of late rather increased than diminished, and earnestly recommended this important object to their serious attention. Affectionate addresses were presented by both houses in answer to this harangue; and, what was very remarkable, they were proposed and passed without question or debate.

8. The commons continued the same number of seamen and land forces for the ensuing year, which had been granted in the last session; and made suitable provision for all the exigences of the state: the whole supply amounted to £2,797,916. 10s. 2d., to be raised by a land-tax of two shillings in the pound; a malt-tax; a continuation of certain duties on wine, vinegar, cider, and beer imported; a sum taken from the sinking-fund; and the overplus of certain grants, funds, and duties: the provisions made considerably exceeded the grants; but this excess was chargeable with the interest of what should be borrowed on the credit in the land or malt-tax, there being a clause of credit in both; as also with the deficiency, if any should happen, in the sums they were computed to produce. The house agreed to all these resolutions almost unanimously: indeed, no opposition was made to any of them, but that for continuing the same number of land forces, which was carried by a great majority.

9. The act permitting Jews to be naturalised, which had, during the last session, triumphed over such an obstinate opposition, was by this time become the object of national horror and execration: every part of the kingdom resounded with the reproach of the ministry who had enforced such an

odious measure ; and the two brothers, who engrossed the greater part of the administration, trembled at the prospect of what this clamor might produce at the general election, this being the last session of the present parliament : so eager were the ministers to annul this unpopular measure, that, immediately after the peers had agreed to the nature and form of an address to his majesty, the duke of Newcastle, with that precipitation so peculiar to his character, poured forth an abrupt harangue in that house, importing that the disaffected had made a handle of the act passed last session in favor of the Jews, to raise discontents among many of his majesty's good subjects ; and as the act was in itself of little importance, he was of opinion it ought to be repealed ; for this purpose he presented a bill ready framed, which was read and committed, though not without some debate ;—the naturalisation bill, now devoted as a sacrifice to the resentment of the people ; containing a clause disabling all naturalised Jews from purchasing, inheriting, or receiving any advowson or presentation, or right to any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, school, hospital, or donative ; and by the first draught of the bill, which his grace now presented, it was intended that this clause should not be repealed : it was the opinion, however, of the majority, that such a clause standing unrepealed might imply, that the Jews, by being thus expressly excluded from the possession of any ecclesiastical right of presentation, would be considered as having the power and privilege of purchasing and inheriting any lay-property in the kingdom : on this consideration an amendment was made in the bill, the clause in question was left out, and the whole act of naturalisation repealed without exception :¹⁰ though the lords in general concurred in the expediency of the repeal, it was opposed by some few, as too great a sacrifice to the idle and unfounded clamors of the multitude ; and on this side of the debate a great power of elocution was displayed by earl Temple, who had lately succeeded to this title on the death of his mother ; a nobleman of distinguished abilities and the most

¹⁰ The reverend bench of bishops had, with a laudable spirit of christian meekness and philanthropy, generally approved of the indulgence granted to their Hebrew brethren ; and now they acquiesced in the proposed repeal with the same passive discretion, though one of the number contended for the saving clause which the duke of Newcastle had recommended.

amiable disposition, frank, liberal, humane, and zealously attached to the interest and honor of his country. In the lower house, the members of both parties seemed to vie with each other in demonstrations of aversion to this unpopular act: on the very first day of the session, immediately after the motion for an address to his majesty, Sir James Dashwood, an eminent leader in the opposition, gave the commons to understand that he had a motion of very great importance to make, which would require the attention of every member as soon as the motion for the address should be discussed; he therefore desired they would not quit the house until he should have an opportunity to explain his proposal: accordingly, they had no sooner agreed to the motion for an address of thanks to his majesty, than he stood up again, and having expatiated on the just and general indignation which the act of the preceding session in favor of the Jews had raised among the people, he moved to order that the house should be called over on Tuesday, the fourth of December, for taking that act into consideration; but being given to understand that it was not usual to appoint a call of the house for any particular purpose, he agreed that the motion should be general: it was seconded by lord Parker, his opposite in political interests: the house agreed to it without opposition, and the call was ordered accordingly: they were anticipated however by the lords, who framed and transmitted to them a bill on the same subject, to the purport of which the commons made no objection; for every member, having the fear of the general election before his eyes, carefully avoided every expression which could give umbrage to his constituents; but violent opposition was made to the preamble, which ran in the following strain:—‘Whereas an act of parliament was made and passed in the twenty-fifth year of his majesty’s reign, entitled, An act to permit persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalised by parliament, and for other purposes therein mentioned; and whereas occasion has been taken, from the said act, to raise discontents and disquiets in the minds of his majesty’s subjects; be it enacted,’ &c. This introduction was considered as an unjust reflection on the body of the people in general, and in particular on those who had opposed the bill in the course of the preceding session: Sir Roger Newdigate therefore moved, that the expression should be varied to this effect:—‘Whereas great discontents and disquietudes had from the said act arisen.’

The consequence of this motion was an obstinate debate, in which it was supported by the earl of Egmont, and divers other able orators ; but Mr. Pelham and Mr. Pitt were numbered among its opponents : the question being put for the proposed alteration, it was of course carried in the negative : the bill, after the third reading, passed *nemine contradicente*, and in due time obtained the royal assent.

10. Even this concession of the ministry did not allay the resentment of the people, and their apprehensions of encroachment from the Jews : another act still subsisted, by virtue of which any person professing the Jewish religion might become a free denizen of Great Britain, after having resided seven years in any of his majesty's colonies in America ; and this was now considered as a law, having the same dangerous tendency, of which the other was now in a fair way of being convicted : it was moved therefore in the lower house, that part of this former act might be read ; then the same member made a motion for an address to his majesty, desiring that the house might have the perusal of the lists transmitted from the American colonies to the commissioners for trade and plantations, containing the names of all such persons professing the Jewish religion, as had entitled themselves to the benefit of the said act since the year 1740 : these lists were accordingly presented, and left on the table for the perusal of the members ; but as this act contained no limitation of time within which the benefit of it should be claimed, and as this claim was attended with a good deal of trouble and some expense, very few persons had availed themselves of it in that period : nevertheless, as a great number of Jews were already entitled to claim this indulgence, and as it remained an open channel through which Great Britain might be deluged with those people, all of whom the law would hold as natural-born subjects, and their progeny as freed from all the restrictions contained in the act with respect to naturalised foreigners, lord Harley moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the said act as related to persons professing the Jewish religion, who should come to settle in any British colony after a certain time : the motion was seconded by Sir James Dashwood, and supported by the earl of Egmont ; but being found unequal to the interest and elocution of Mr. Pelham and Mr. Pitt, was rejected by the majority.

11. The next object that claimed the attention of the commons [1754.] was a bill for improving the regulations

already made to prevent the spreading of a contagious distemper, which raged among the horned cattle in different parts of the kingdom. The last bill of this session that had the good fortune to succeed, was brought in for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the service of the East-India company, and for the punishment of offences committed in the East-Indies and the island of St. Helena: this being a measure of a very extraordinary nature, all the members were ordered to attend the house on the day affixed for the second reading: at the same time all charters, commissions, and authorities, by which any powers relative to a military jurisdiction, or the exercise of martial law, had been granted or derived from the crown to the said company, were submitted to the perusal of the members: the bill was by many considered as a dangerous extension of military power, to the prejudice of the civil rights enjoyed by British subjects, and as such violently contested by the earl of Egmont, lord Strange, and Mr. alderman Beckford: their objections were answered by the solicitor-general and Mr. Yorke: the bill, after some warm debates, being espoused by the ministry, was enacted into a law, and despatched to the East-Indies by the first opportunity.

12. Some other motions were made, and petitions presented on different subjects, which, as they miscarried, it will be unnecessary to particularise: it may not be amiss however to record an exemplary act of justice done by the commons on a person belonging to a public office, whom they detected in the practice of fraud and imposition: notwithstanding the particular care taken in the last session to prevent the monopolising of tickets in the state-lottery, all those precautions had been eluded in a scandalous manner by certain individuals, entrusted with the charge of delivering the tickets to the contributors, according to the intent of the act, which expressly declared that not more than twenty should be sold to any one person: instead of conforming to these directions of the legislature, they and their friends engrossed great numbers, sheltering themselves under a false list of feigned names for the purpose; by which means they not only defeated the equitable intention of the commons, but in some measure injured the public credit; inasmuch as their avarice had prompted them to subscribe for a greater number than they had cash to purchase; so that there was a deficiency in the first payment, which might have had a bad effect on the public affairs: these practices were so flagrant and notorious

as to attract the notice of the lower house, where an inquiry was begun and prosecuted with a spirit of real patriotism, in opposition to a scandalous cabal, who endeavored with equal eagerness and perseverance to screen the delinquents: all their efforts, however, proved abortive; and a committee, appointed to examine particulars, agreed to several severe resolutions against one Leheup, who had amassed a large fortune by this and other kinds of speculation: they voted him guilty of a breach of trust, and a direct violation of the lottery-act; and an address was presented to his majesty, desiring he might be prosecuted by the attorney-general for these offences: he was accordingly sued in the court of king's-bench, and paid a fine of £1000, for having committed frauds by which he had gained forty times that sum; but he was treated with such gentleness as remarkably denoted the clemency of that tribunal.

13. The session ended in the beginning of April, when the king gave the parliament to understand that he should say nothing at present on foreign affairs; but assured them of his fixed resolution to exert his whole power in maintaining the general tranquillity, and adhering to such measures for that purpose as he had hitherto pursued in conjunction with his allies: he in very affectionate terms thanked both houses for the repeated proofs they had given of their zealous attachment and loyalty to his person and government: he enumerated the salutary measures they had taken for lessening the national debt, and augmenting the public credit, extending navigation and commerce, reforming the morals of the people, and improving the regulations of civil economy: he concluded with declaring that he securely relied on the loyalty and good affection of his people, and had no other aim than their permanent happiness. In a little time after the close of this session they were dissolved by proclamation, and new writs issued by the lord chancellor for convoking a new parliament: the same ceremonies were practised with respect to the convocations of Canterbury and York, though they no longer retained their former importance; nor, indeed, were they suffered to sit and deliberate on the subjects which formerly fell under their cognisance and discussion.

14. In the beginning of March, the ministry of Great Britain had been left without a head by the death of Mr. Pelham, which was not only sincerely lamented by his sovereign, but also regretted by the nation in general, to

whose affection he had powerfully recommended himself by the candor and humanity of his conduct and character, even while he pursued measures which they did not intirely approve : the loss of such a minister was the more deeply felt by the government at this juncture, being the eve of a general election for a new parliament, when every administration is supposed to exert itself with redoubled vigilance and circumspection : he had already concerted the measures for securing a majority, and his plan was faithfully executed by his friends and adherents, who still engrossed the administration : his brother, the duke of Newcastle, was appointed first lord commissioner of the treasury, and succeeded as secretary of state by Sir Thomas Robinson, who had long resided as ambassador at the court of Vienna : the other department of this office was still retained by the earl of Holderness ; and the function of chancellor of the exchequer was performed as usual by the lord chief justice of the king's-bench, until a proper person could be found to fill that important office ; but in the course of the summer it was bestowed on Mr. Legge, who acquitted himself with equal honor and capacity : divers other alterations were made, of less importance to the public : Sir George Lyttelton was appointed cofferer, and the earl of Hillsborough comptroller of the household : Mr. George Grenville, brother to earl Temple, became treasurer of the navy ; and Mr. Charles Townshend, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, took place as a commissioner at the board of admiralty, in the room of lord Barrington, made master of the wardrobe : lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, was promoted to the dignity of an earl : the place of lord chief justice of the king's-bench becoming vacant by the death of Sir William Lee, was filled with Sir Dudley Rider ; and he was succeeded by Mr. Murray in the office of attorney-general.

15. The elections for the new parliament generally succeeded according to the wish of the ministry, for opposition was now dwindled down to the lowest state of imbecility : it had received a mortal wound by the death of the late prince of Wales, whose adherents were too wise to pursue an *ignis fatuus*, without any prospect of success or advantage : some of them had prudently sung their palinodia to the ministry, and been gratified with profitable employments ; while others, setting too great a price on their own importance, kept aloof till the market was over, and were left to pine in

secret over their disappointed ambition: the maxims of toryism had been relinquished by many, as the barren principles of a losing game: the body of the people were conciliated to the established government; and the harmony that now, for the first time, subsisted among all the branches of the royal family, had a wonderful effect in acquiring a degree of popularity which they had never before enjoyed: the writs being returned, the new parliament was opened on the last day of May by the duke of Cumberland and some other peers, who acted by virtue of a commission from his majesty: the commons having chosen for their speaker the right hon. Arthur Onslow, who had honorably filled that high office in four preceding parliaments, he was presented and approved by the commissioners: then the lord high chancellor harangued both houses, giving them to understand that his majesty had indulged them with this early opportunity of coming together, in order to complete without loss of time certain parliamentary proceedings, which he judged would be for the satisfaction of his good subjects; but he did not think proper to lay before them any points of general business, reserving every thing of that nature to the usual time of their assembling in the winter: on the fifth of June this short session was closed, and the parliament prorogued by the lords commissioners.

16. In the beginning of this year violent disputes arose between the government and the house of commons in Ireland, on the almost forgotten subjects of privilege and prerogative: the commons conceived they had an undoubted right to apply the surplus of their revenue towards national purposes, without the consent of their sovereign; and, accordingly, in the year 1749, prepared a bill with this preamble:—‘Whereas on the twenty-fifth of March last a considerable balance remained in the hands of the vice-treasurers or receivers-general of the kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, unapplied; and it will be for your majesty’s service, and for the ease of your faithful subjects in this kingdom, that so much thereof as can be conveniently spared should be paid, agreeably to your majesty’s most gracious intentions, in discharge of part of the national debt.’ This appropriation gave great offence to the advocates for prerogative in England, who affirmed that the commons had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, or even to take any such affair into consideration, without the previous consent of the crown, expressed in the

most explicit terms : it was in consequence of this doctrine, that the duke of Dorset, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, told them in the next session of parliament, held in the year 1751, he was commanded by the king to acquaint them, that his majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of his subjects, would graciously consent, and recommend it to them, that such a part of the money then remaining in his treasury, as should be thought consistent with the public service, be applied towards the farther reduction of the national debt : this declaration alarmed the commons, zealous as they were for the preservation of their privileges ; and in their address of thanks, which, like that of the parliament of Great Britain used always to echo back the words of the speech, they made no mention of his majesty's consent ; but only acknowledged his gracious attention to their ease and happiness, in recommending to them the application of the surplus : they accordingly resolved to apply £120,000 of that overplus towards the discharge of the national debt ; and, in the preamble of the bill, framed for this purpose, made no mention of his majesty's consent, though before they had acknowledged his goodness in recommending this application : the ministry in England were highly offended at this purposed omission, which they construed into a wilful encroachment on the prerogative ; and the bill was sent back with an alteration in the preamble, signifying his majesty's consent as well as recommendation : the Irish house of commons being at that time deeply engaged in a minute inquiry into the conduct of a gentleman, a servant of the crown, and a member of their own house, accused of having misapplied a large sum of money with which he had been entrusted, for rebuilding or repairing the barracks, were now unwilling to embroil themselves farther with the government, until this affair should be discussed : they therefore passed the bill with the alteration, and proceeded with their inquiry : the person was convicted of having misapplied the public money, and ordered to make the barracks fit for the reception and accommodation of the troops at his own expense : they did not however neglect to assert what they thought their rights and privileges when the next opportunity occurred : the duke of Dorset, when he opened the session of this year, repeated the expression of his majesty's gracious consent, in mentioning the surplus of the public money : they again omitted that word in their address ; and resolved, in their bill of application, not only

to sink this odious term, but likewise to abate in their complaisance to the crown, by leaving out that expression of grateful acknowledgement, which had met with such a cold reception above. By this time the contest had kindled up two violent factions, and diffused a general spirit of resentment through the whole Irish nation: the committee who prepared the bill, instead of inserting the usual compliments in the preamble, mentioned nothing but a recital of facts, and sent it over in a very plain dress, quite destitute of all embroidery: the ministry, intent on vindicating the prerogative from such an unmannerly attack, filled up the omissions of the committee, and sent it back with this alteration: — ‘and your majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify that you would consent, and to recommend it to us, that so much of the money remaining in your majesty’s treasury, as should be necessary to be applied to the discharge of the national debt, or such part thereof as should be thought expedient by parliament.’ This then being the crisis, which was to determine a constitutional point of such importance, namely, whether the people in parliament assembled have a right to deliberate on and vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue without the previous consent of the crown; those who were the most zealously attached to the liberties of their country resolved to exert themselves in opposing what they conceived to be a violation of those liberties; and the bill, with its alterations, was rejected by a majority of five voices: the success of their endeavors was celebrated with the most extravagant rejoicings, as a triumph of patriotism over the arts of ministerial corruption; and, on the other hand, all the servants of the crown, who had joined the popular cry on this occasion, were in a little time dismissed from their employments. The rejection of the bill was a great disappointment to the creditors of the public, and the circulation of cash was almost stagnated: these calamities were imputed to arbitrary designs in the government; and the people began to be inflamed with an enthusiastic spirit of independence, which might have produced mischievous effects, had not artful steps been taken to bring over the demagogues, and thus divert the stream of popular clamor from the ministry to those very individuals who had been the idols of popular veneration: the speaker of the house of commons was promoted to the dignity of an earl, and some

other patriots were gratified with lucrative employments: his majesty's letter arrived for paying off £75,500 of the national debt: the circulation was thus animated; and the resentment of the populace subsiding, the kingdom retrieved its former tranquillity.

17. The ambition and intrigues of the French court, by which the British interest was invaded and disturbed on the continent of America, had also extended itself to the East-Indies, where they endeavored to embroil the English company with divers nabobs or princes, who governed different parts of the peninsula intra Gangem. That the reader may have a clear and distinct idea of these transactions, we shall exhibit a short sketch of the English forts and settlements in that remote country. The first of these we shall mention is Surat,¹¹ in the province so called, situated between the twenty-first and twenty-second degrees of north latitude: from hence the peninsula stretches into the Indian ocean as far as the latitude of eight north, ending in a point at Cape Comorin, which is the southern extremity: to the northward this peninsula joins to Hindostan, and at its greatest breadth extends 700 miles: on the west, east, and south it is washed by the sea: it comprehends the kingdoms of Malabar, Decan, Golconda, and Bisnagar, with the principalities of Gingi, Tanjour, and Madura: the western side is distinguished by the name of the Malabar coast; the eastern takes the denomination of Coromandel; and, in different parts of this long sweep, from Surat round Cape Comorin to the bottom of the bay of Bengal, the English and other European powers have, with the consent of the mogul,

¹¹ Several European nations had settlements at Surat, which was one of the most frequented cities of the east, from the great concourse of Mahometan pilgrims, who make it their road from India, in their visits to the tomb of their prophet at Mecca: in order to keep the seas clear of pirates between Surat and the gulf of Arabia and Persia, the mogul had been at the annual expense of a large ship fitted out on purpose to carry the pilgrims to Judda, which is within a small distance of Mecca: for the security of this ship, as well as to protect the trade of Surat, he granted to his admiral, the *fiddee*, chief of a colonel of caffrees, or blacks, a revenue called the Tanka, to the value of three lacs of rupees, amounting to above £37,000, arising partly from the adjacent lands, and partly from the revenues of Surat, which were paid him yearly by the governor of the castle, who is appointed by the mogul to keep the city under proper subjection, without, however, interfering with the government of it.

established forts and trading settlements: all these kingdoms, properly speaking, belong to the mogul; but his power was so weakened by the last invasion of Kouli Khan, that he has not been able to assert his empire over this remote country; the tributary princes of which, and even the nabobs, who were originally governors appointed under their authority, have rendered themselves independent, and exert an absolute dominion over their respective territories, without acknowledging his superiority either by tribute or homage: these princes, when they quarrel among themselves, naturally have recourse to the assistance of such European powers as are settled in or near their dominions; and in the same manner the East-Indian companies of the European powers which happen to be at war with each other never fail to interest the nabobs in the dispute.

18. The next English settlement to Surat, on the coast of the peninsula, is Bombay, in the kingdom of Decan, a small island, with a very convenient harbor, about five and forty leagues to the south of Surat: the town is very populous, but the soil is barren, and the climate unhealthy; and the commerce was rendered very precarious by the neighborhood of the famous corsair Angria, until his port of Geriah was taken, and his fortifications demolished: the English company likewise carry on some traffic at Dabul, about forty leagues farther to the south, in the province of Cuncan: in the same southerly progression, towards the point of the peninsula, we arrive at Carwar, in the latitude of fifteen degrees, where there is a small fort and factory belonging to the company, standing on the south side of the bay, with a river capable of receiving ships of pretty large burden: the climate here is remarkably salubrious; the country abounds with provisions of all sorts, and the best pepper of India grows in this neighborhood. The next English settlement we find at Tillicherry, where the company has erected a fort, to defend their commerce of pepper and cardamoms from the insults of the rajah, who governs this part of Malabar: hither the English trade was removed from Calicut, a large town, that stands fifteen leagues to the southward of Tillicherry, and was as well frequented as any port on the coast of the Indian peninsula. The most southerly settlement which the English possess on the Malabar coast is that of Anjengo, between the eighth and ninth degrees of latitude: it is defended by a regular fort, situated on a broad river, which falls into the sea; and

would be very commodious for trade, were not the water on the bar too shallow to admit ships of considerable burden : then turning the cape, and passing through the strait of Chilao, formed by the island of Ceylon, we arrive on the coast of Coromandel, which forms the eastern side of the isthmus. Prosecuting our course in the northern direction, the first English factory we reach is that of Fort St. David, formerly called Tegapatan, situated in the latitude of eleven degrees forty minutes north, within the kingdom of Gingi : it was about six and twenty years ago sold by a Mahratta prince to the East-India company ; and, next to Bombay, is the most considerable settlement we have yet mentioned : its territory extends about eight miles along the coast, and half that space up to the country, which is delightfully watered by a variety of rivers : the soil is fertile, and the climate healthy : the fort is regular, well provided with cannon, ammunition, and a numerous garrison ; which is the more necessary, on account of the neighborhood of the French settlement at Pondicherry :¹² but the chief settlement belonging to the company on this coast is that of Madras, or Fort St. George, standing farther to the northward, between the thirteenth and fourteenth degrees of latitude, and not a great way from the diamond mines of Golconda : it is seated on a flat, barren, scorching sand, so near the sea, that in bad weather the walls are endangered by the mighty surges rolled in from the ocean : as the soil is barren, the climate is so intensely hot, that it would be altogether uninhabitable, were not the heat mitigated by the sea-breezes : on the land side it is defended by a salt-water river, which, while it contributes to the security of the place, robs the inhabitants of one great comfort, by obstructing the springs of fresh water. The fort is a regular square ; the town surrounded with walls well mounted with artillery ; and the place, including the Black Town, is very populous. Madras, with several villages in the neighborhood, was purchased of the king of Golconda before the mogul became sovereign of this country : the governor of this place is not only president of Fort St. George, but also of all the other settlements on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, as far as the island of Sumatra : he lives in great pomp, having inferior judges, who pass sentence of death occasionally on malefactors of

¹² The trade consists of long cloths of different colors, sallampores, moreens, dimities, gingham, and succatoons.

any nation, except the subjects of Great Britain : all the company's affairs are directed by him and his council, who are invested with the power of inflicting corporal punishment, short of life and member, on such Europeans as are in the service ; and dispose of all places of trust and profit : by virtue of an act passed in the course of this very session, the military officers belonging to the company were permitted to hold courts-martial, and punish their soldiers according to the degree of their delinquency : in a word, Madras is of the utmost importance to the company for its strength, wealth, and the great returns it makes in calicoes and muslins. Towards the latter end of the last century the English company had a flourishing factory at Masulipatam, standing on the north side of the river Nagundi, which separates the provinces of Golconda and Bisnagar in the latitude of sixteen degrees and thirty minutes ; but now there is no European settlement here, except a Dutch factory, maintained for carrying on the chintz commerce. At Visgapatam, situated still farther to the northward, the English possess a factory, regularly fortified, on the side of a river, which, however, a dangerous bar has rendered unfit for navigation : the adjacent country affords cotton cloths, and the best striped muslins of India : it is chiefly for the use of this settlement that the company maintains a factory at Ganjam, the most eastern town in the province or kingdom of Golconda, situated in a country abounding with rice and sugar-canes : still farther to the north coast, in the latitude of twenty-two degrees, the company maintains a factory at Balasore, which was formerly very considerable ; but has been of very little consequence since the navigation of the river Huguely was improved : at this place every European ship bound for Bengal and the Ganges takes in a pilot. The climate is not counted very salubrious ; but the adjacent country is fruitful to admiration, and here are considerable manufactures of cotton and silk : without skilful pilots, the English would find it very difficult to navigate the different channels through which the river Ganges discharges itself into the sea at the bottom of the bay of Bengal : on the southern branch is a town called Pipely, where there was formerly an English factory ; but this was removed to Huguely, 160 miles farther up the river ; a place, which, together with the company's settlement at Calcutta, were the emporiums of their commerce for the whole kingdom of Bengal : indeed Huguely is now abandoned by the English, and their whole trade centres

at Calcutta or Fort William, which is a regular fortification, containing lodgings for the factors and writers, store-houses for the company's merchandise, and magazines for their ammunition : as for the governor's house, which likewise stands within the fort, it is one of the most regular structures in all India. Besides these settlements along the sea-coast of the peninsula and on the banks of the Ganges, the English East-India company possess certain inland factories and posts for the convenience and defence of their commerce, either purchased of the nabobs and rajahs, or conquered in the course of the war. As the operations we propose to record were confined to the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, or the interior countries which form the peninsula intra Gangem, it will be unnecessary to describe the factory at Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra, or any settlement which the English possess in other parts of the East-Indies.

19. In order to understand the military transactions of the English company in India, the reader will take notice, that immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, M. Dupleix, who commanded for the French in that country, began by his intrigues to sow the seeds of dissension among the nabobs, that he might be the better able to fish in troubled waters : Nizam Almuluck, the mogul's viceroy of Decan, having the right of nominating a governor of the Carnatic, now more generally known by the name of the nabob of Arcot, appointed Anaverdy Khan to that office, in the year 1745 : the viceroy dying, was succeeded in his viceroyalty or subaship by his second son Nazirzing, whom the mogul confirmed : he was opposed in his pretensions by his own cousin Muzapherzing, who had recourse to the assistance of M. Dupleix, and obtained from him a reinforcement of Europeans and artillery, in consideration of many presents and promises which he fulfilled in the sequel : thus reinforced, and joined by one Chunda Saib, an active Indian chief, he took the field against his kinsman Nazirzing, who was supported by a body of English troops under colonel Laurence : the French, dreading an engagement, retired in the night ; and Muzapherzing, seeing himself abandoned by all his own troops, appealed to the clemency of his cousin, who spared his life, but detained him as a state prisoner : in this situation he formed a conspiracy against his kinsman's life, with Nazirzing's prime minister, and the nabobs of Cadupab and Condaneor, then in his camp ; and the conspirators were encouraged in their scheme by Dupleix and Chunda Saib, who

had retired to Pondicherry: thus stimulated, they murdered Nazirzing in his camp, and proclaimed Muzapherzing viceroy of Decan: in the tents of the murdered viceroy they found an immense treasure, of which a great share fell to M. Dupleix, whom Muzapherzing the usurper at this time associated in the government: by virtue of this association the Frenchman assumed the state and formalities of an eastern prince; and he and his colleague Muzapherzing appointed Chunda Saib nabob of Arcot: Anaverdy Khan, the late nabob, had been, in the year 1749, defeated and slain by Muzapherzing and Chunda Saib, with the assistance of their French auxiliaries; and his son Mohammed Ali Khan had put himself under the protection of the English at Madras, and was confirmed by Nazirzing as his father's successor in the nabobship, or government of Arcot: this government therefore was disputed between Mohammed Ali Khan, appointed by the legal viceroy Nazirzing, supported by the English company; and Chunda Saib, nominated by the usurper Muzapherzing, and protected by Dupleix, who commanded at Pondicherry. Muzapherzing did not long survive his usurpation: in the year 1751, the same nabobs who had promoted him to his kinsman's place, thinking themselves ill rewarded for their services, fell on him suddenly, routed his troops, and put him to death; and next day the chiefs of the army proclaimed Sallabatzing, brother to Nazirzing, viceroy of Decan: on the other hand, the mogul appointed Gauzedy Khan, who was the elder brother of Sallabatzing; and this prince confirmed Mahommed Ali Khan in the government of Arcot: but the affairs of the mogul's court were then in such confusion, that he could not spare an army to support the nomination he had made. Chunda Saib, nabob of Arcot, having been deposed by the great mogul, who placed Anaverdy Khan in his room, he resolved to recover his government by force, and had recourse to the French general at Pondicherry, who reinforced him with 2000 sepoys, or soldiers of the country, six caffres, and 420 French troops, on condition that, if he proved successful in his enterprise, he should cede to the French the town of Velur, in the neighborhood of Pondicherry, with its dependences, consisting of forty-five villages: thus reinforced, he defeated his rival Anaverdy Khan, who lost his life in the engagement; reassumed the government of Arcot; and punctually performed the conditions which had been stipulated by his French allies.

20. Mahommed Ali Khan, at the death of his father, had fled to Tiruchirapalli,¹³ and solicited the assistance of the English, who favored him with a reinforcement of money, men, and ammunition, under the conduct of major Laurence, a brave and experienced officer: by dint of this supply, he gained some advantages over the enemy, who were obliged to retreat; but no decisive blow was given: Mahommed afterwards repaired in person to Fort St. David to demand more powerful succors, alleging that his fate was connected with the interest of the English company, which in time would be obliged to abandon the whole coast should they allow the enemy to proceed in their conquests: in consequence of these representations, he received another strong reinforcement, under the command of captain Cope; but nothing of importance was attempted, and the English auxiliaries retired: then Mahommed was attacked by the enemy, who obtained a complete victory over him: finding it impossible to maintain his footing by his own strength, he entered into a close alliance with the English, and ceded to them some commercial points, which had been long in dispute: then they detached captain Cope to put Tiruchirapalli in a posture of defence; while captain de Gings, a Swiss officer, marched at the head of 400 Europeans to the nabob's assistance. The two armies, being pretty equal in strength, lay encamped in sight of each other a whole month, during which nothing happened but a few skirmishes, which generally terminated to the advantage of the English auxiliaries: in order to make a diversion, and divide the French forces, the company resolved to send a detachment into the province of Arcot; and this was one of the first occasions on which the extraordinary talents of Mr. Clive were displayed: he had entered into the service of the East-India company as a writer, and was considered as a person very indifferently qualified for succeeding in any civil station of life: he now offered his service in a military capacity, and actually began his march to Arcot, at the head of 210 Europeans, with 500 sepoys.¹⁴

21. Such was the resolution, secresy, and despatch with

¹³ Tiruchirapalli, commonly called Trichinopoly, situated near the river Cauveri, above 200 miles to the southward of Madras, is the capital of a small kingdom belonging to the government of Arcot, and bounded on the east by the kingdom of Tanjore.

¹⁴ The sepoys are the mercenaries of the country, who are hired as soldiers occasionally by all parties.

which he conducted this enterprise, that the enemy knew nothing of his motions until he was in possession of the capital, which he took without opposition : the inhabitants, expecting to be plundered, offered him a large sum to spare their city ; but they derived their security from the generosity and discretion of the conqueror : he refused the proffered ransom, and issued a proclamation, intimating that those who were willing to remain in their houses should be protected from insult and injury, and the rest have leave to retire with all their effects except provisions, for which he promised to pay the full value : by this sage conduct he conciliated the affections of the people so intirely, that even those who quitted the place supplied him with exact intelligence of the enemy's designs when he was besieged in the sequel : the town was in a little time invested by Raja Saib, son of Chunda Saib, at the head of a numerous army ; and the operations of the siege were conducted by European engineers : though their approaches were retarded by the repeated and resolute sallies of Mr. Clive, they at length effected two breaches supposed to be practicable ; and on the fourteenth of October, in the year 1751, gave a general assault : Mr. Clive, having received intimation of their design, had made such preparations for their reception, that they were repulsed in every quarter with great loss, and obliged to raise the siege with the utmost precipitation.

22. This gallant Englishman, not contented with the reputation he had acquired from his noble defence, was no sooner reinforced by a detachment under captain Kirkpatrick from Trichinopoly, than he marched in pursuit of the enemy, whom he overtook in the plains of Arani : there, on the third of December, he attacked them with irresistible impetuosity ; and, after an obstinate dispute, obtained a complete victory at a very small expense. The forts of Timery, Caujeveram, and Aranie surrendered to the terror of his name rather than to the force of his arms ; and he returned to Fort St. David in triumph : he had enjoyed a very few weeks of repose when he was summoned to the field by fresh incursions of the enemy : in the beginning of the year 1752, he marched with a small detachment to Madras, where he was joined by a reinforcement from Bengal, the whole number not exceeding 300 Europeans, and assembled a body of the natives, that he might have at least the appearance of an army : with these he proceeded to Koveripauk, about fifteen miles from Arcot, where he found

the French and Indians, consisting of 1500 sepoys, 1700 horse, a body of natives, and 150 Europeans, with eight pieces of cannon: though they were advantageously posted and intrenched, and the day was already far advanced, Mr. Clive advanced against them with his usual intrepidity; but the victory remained for some time in suspense: it was now dark, and the battle doubtful, when Mr. Clive sent round a detachment to fall in the rear of the French battery: this attack was executed with great resolution, while the English in front entered the intrenchments with their bayonets fixed; and, though very little tinctured with discipline, displayed the spirit and activity of hardy veterans: this double attack disconcerted the enemy in such a manner, that they soon desisted from all opposition: a considerable carnage ensued; yet the greater part of the enemy, both horse and foot, saved themselves by flight, under cover of the darkness: the French, to a man, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and all the cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the victor.

23. The province of Arcot being thus cleared of the enemy, Mr. Clive with his forces returned to Fort St. David, where he found major Laurence just arrived from England,¹⁵ to take on him the command of the troops in the company's service: on the eighteenth of March, this officer, accompanied by Mr. Clive, took the field, and was joined by captain de Gingins at Tiruchirapalli: from hence he detached Mr. Clive with 400 European soldiers, a few Mahratta horse, and a body of sepoys, to cut off the enemy's retreat to Pondicherry: in the course of this expedition he dislodged a strong body of the foe posted at Samiaveram, and obliged Chunda Saib to throw a body of troops into a strong fortified temple, or pagoda, on the river Koleron, which was immediately invested: the commanding officer, in attempting to escape, was slain with some others, and the rest surrendered at discretion: they were still in possession of another fortified temple, which he also besieged in form, and reduced by capitulation. Having subdued these forts, he marched directly to Volconda, whither he understood the French commander D'Anteuil had retired: he found that officer intrenched in a village, from whence he drove him with precipitation, and made himself master of the French cannon: the enemy attempted to save themselves in the neighboring

¹⁵ Major Laurence had sailed from England in the year 1750.

fort; but the gates being shut against them by the governor, who was apprehensive that they would be followed pell-mell by the English, Mr. Clive attacked them with great fury, and made a considerable slaughter; but his humanity being shocked at this carnage, he sent a flag of truce to the vanquished, with terms of capitulation, which they readily embraced: these articles imported, that D'Anteuil and three other officers should remain prisoners on parole for one year, that the garrison should be exchanged, and the money and stores be delivered to the nabob whom the English supported.

24. During these transactions Chunda Saib lay encamped with an army of 30,000 men at Syrinham, an island in the neighborhood of Tiruchirapalli, which he longed eagerly to possess: hither major Laurence marched with his Indian allies,¹⁶ and took his measures so well, that the enemy's provisions were intirely intercepted: Chunda Saib, in attempting to fly, was taken prisoner by the nabob of Tanjore, an ally of the English company, who ordered his head to be struck off, in order to prevent the disputes which otherwise would have arisen among the captors:¹⁷ the main body of the army being attacked by major Laurence, and totally defeated, the island of Syrinham was surrendered; and about 1000 European French soldiers, under the command of Mr. Law, nephew to the famous Law who schemed the Mississippi company, fell into the hands of the conquerors, including thirty officers, with forty pieces of cannon, and ten mortars. M. Dupleix, though exceedingly mortified by this disaster, resolved to maintain the cause which he had espoused: he proclaimed Rajah Saib, the son of Chunda Saib, nabob of Arcot; and afterwards pretended that he himself had received from the mogul sanids or commissions,

¹⁶ His army consisted of 1200 Europeans and Topasses in battalions, 2000 sepoy, with the forces of the nabob, the kings of Tanjore, Muissack, and the Mahrattas; amounting to 1500 horse and 10,000 infantry. Topasses are descendants from the Portuguese: the Mahrattas are native Indians of a very numerous and powerful nation, which has more than once given law to the mogul.

¹⁷ Chunda Saib demanded leave of the Tanjore general to pass through his camp to Tanjore, and this request was granted; but instead of being allowed to pass, he was detained prisoner; and as the allies could not agree about the manner in which he should be disposed of, some of the Tanjore officers, of their own accord, ended the dispute by cutting off his head.

appointing him governor of all the Carnatic, from the river Kristnah to the sea ; but these sanids appeared in the sequel to be forged : in order to complete the comedy, a supposed messenger from Delhi was received at Pondicherry as ambassador from the mogul : Dupleix, mounted on an elephant, preceded by music and dancing-women, in the oriental manner, received in public his commission from the hands of the pretended ambassador : he affected the Eastern state, kept his darbar or court, where he appeared sitting cross-legged on a sofa, and received presents as prince of the country from his own council as well as from the natives. In the mean time, hostilities continued between the forces of the two companies, as auxiliaries to the contending nabobs : the English, under major Kinnier, made an unsuccessful attempt on Ginge, a strong town situated to the west of Pondicherry : major Laurence defeated a strong body of French and natives, commanded by Dupleix's nephew, M. de Kerjean, in the neighborhood of Pondicherry, and took him prisoner, together with fifteen officers : after this success, Mr. Clive reduced the forts of Covelong and Chengalput, the last very strong, situated about forty miles to the southward of Madras : on the other hand, M. Dupleix intercepted at sea captain Schaub, with his whole Swiss company, whom he detained prisoners at Pondicherry, although the two nations were not at war with each other. During these transactions, Sallabatzing, with a body of French under M. de Bussy, advanced towards Aurengabad, which was the seat of government ; but he was opposed by a chief of the Mahrattas, at the head of a numerous army : in the mean time, Gawzedy Khan, the elder brother of Sallabatzing, whom the mogul had appointed viceroy of Decan, took possession of his government at Aurengabad, where, in fourteen days after his arrival, he was poisoned by his own sister : the mogul immediately appointed his son Schah Abadin Khan to succeed his father ; and this prince actually raised an army to come and take possession : but the mogul's affairs requiring his presence at Delhi, he was obliged to postpone his design ; so that Sallabatzing was left without a competitor, and made a present to the French of all the English settlements to the northward. Thus concluded the year 1752 : next campaign was chiefly confined to the neighborhood of Trichinopoly, where major Laurence made several vigorous attacks on the enemy's army, and

obtained many advantages, which however did not prove decisive, because he was so much outnumbered that he could never follow his blow.

25. In the course of this year, the mogul was deposed by his general Schah Abadin Khan, the viceroy of Decan, who raised to the throne Allum Geer, another prince of the blood: in the succeeding year, a negociation was set on foot by Mr. Saunders, governor of Madras, and M. Dupleix; and conferences were opened at Sadrass, a Dutch settlement between Pondicherry and Fort St. George, but this proved abortive; and many other gallant efforts were made by major Laurence in the territory of Trichinopoly, which still continued to be the scene of action. In the course of this year admiral Watson arrived on the coast of Coromandel with a squadron of ships of war, having on board a regiment commanded by colonel Aldercroon: at the same time, the ships from France brought over to Pondicherry the sieur Godeheu, commissary-general and governor-general of all their settlements, at whose arrival Dupleix departed for Europe: the new governor immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Saunders, professing the most pacific inclinations, and proposing a suspension of arms between the two companies until their disputes could be amicably adjusted: this proposal was very agreeable to the governor and council at Madras, and a cessation of arms actually took place in the month of October, 1754. Deputies being sent to Pondicherry, a provisional treaty and truce were concluded, on condition that neither of the two companies should for the future interfere in any difference that might arise between the princes of the country: the other articles related to the places and settlements that should be retained or possessed by the respective companies, until fresh orders relating to this agreement should arrive from the courts of London and Versailles, transmitted by the two East-India companies of France and England: until such orders should arrive, it was stipulated that neither nation should be allowed to procure any new grant or cession, or to build forts for the defence of new establishments; and that they should not proceed to any cession, retrocession, or evacuation of what they then possessed; but every thing should remain on the footing of *uti possidetis*. How pacific soever the sentiments of the French subjects might have been at this period in the East-Indies, certain it is, the designs of the

French governors in America were altogether hostile, and their conduct hastening towards a rupture, which kindled up a bloody war in every division of the globe.

26. As this war may be termed a native of America, and the principal scenes of it were acted on that continent, we shall, for the information of the reader, sketch out the situation of the then British colonies, as they bordered on each other, and extended along the sea coast, from the gulf of St. Lawrence as far south as the country of Florida: we shall enumerate the Indian nations that lie scattered about their confines, and delineate the manner in which the French hemmed them in by a surprising line of fortifications: should we comprehend Hudson's-bay, with the adjacent countries, and the banks of Newfoundland, in this geographical detail, we might affirm that Great Britain at that time possessed a territory along the sea coast, extending 1700 miles in a direct line, from the sixtieth to the thirty-first degree of northern latitude; but as these two countries were not concerned in this dispute, we shall advance from the northward to the southern side of the gulf of St. Lawrence; and, beginning with Acadia or Nova Scotia, describe our settlements, as they lie in a southerly direction, as far as the gulf of Florida. This great tract of country, stretching fifteen degrees of latitude, is washed on the east by the Atlantic ocean; the southern boundary is Spanish Florida; but to the westward the limits are uncertain, some affirming that the jurisdiction of the colonies penetrates through the whole continent, as far as the South-sea; while others, with more moderation, think they are naturally bounded by the river Illinois that runs into the Mississippi, and in a manner connects that river with the chain of lakes known by the names of Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario; the first three communicating with each other, and the last discharging itself into the river St. Lawrence, which running by Montreal and Quebec issues into the bay of the same denomination, forming the northern boundary of Nova Scotia. The French, who had no legal claim to any lands on the south side of this river, nevertheless, with an insolence of ambition peculiar to themselves, not only extended their forts from the source of the St. Lawrence, through an immense tract of that country, as far as the Mississippi, which disembogues itself into the gulf of Florida; but also, by a series of unparalleled encroachments, endeavored to contract the English colonies within such narrow limits as

would have cut off almost one half of their possessions : as we have already given a geographical description of Nova Scotia, and mentioned the particulars of the new settlement of Halifax, we shall now only observe, that it is surrounded on three sides by the sea, the gulf, and river of St. Lawrence; that its original boundary to the west was the river Pentagoet; but it is now contracted within the river St. Croix, because the crown of Great Britain did, in the year 1663, grant to the duke of York the territory of Sagadahack, stretching from St. Croix to the river of this name; which was in the sequel, by an express charter from the crown, annexed to the province of Massachuset's-bay, one of the four governments of New England: this country, situate next to Nova Scotia, lies between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, extending near 300 miles in length and about 200 in breadth, if we bound it by those tracts which the French possessed: no part of the settlements of this country however stretches above sixty miles from the sea. The summer is here intensely hot, and the winter proportionably severe; nevertheless the climate is healthy, and the sky generally serene: the soil is not favorable to any of the European kinds of grain; but produces great plenty of maize, which the people bake into bread and brew into beer, though their favorite drink is made of molasses hopped, and impregnated with the tops of the spruce-fir, which is a native of this country: the ground raises good flax and tolerable hemp: here are great herds of black cattle, some of them very large in size; a vast number of excellent hogs; a breed of small horses, graceful, swift, and hardy; and large flocks of sheep, whose wool, though not so fine as that of England, is manufactured with great success.

27. New England is composed of the four provinces known by the names of New Hampshire, Massachuset's-bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut: it is bounded on the south by New York extending northerly on both sides of the river Hudson, about 200 miles into the country possessed by the Indians of the five nations, whom the French distinguish by the name of the Iroquois; but in breadth this province does not exceed fifty miles, though it comprehends Long Island, lying to the southward of Connecticut. The capital, which derives from the province the name of New York, is situated on an excellent harbor in the island of Manahatton, extending fourteen miles in length and five in breadth, at the mouth of the noble river Hudson, which is navigable for

above 200 miles. At the distance of 150 miles from New York stands the town of Albany, on the same river: in this place all the treaties and other transactions were negotiated between the English and the Iroquois, a confederacy of five Indian nations, who, by their union, courage, and military skill had reduced a great number of other Indian tribes, and subdued a territory more extensive than the whole kingdom of France: they were about fourscore years ago able to bring 10,000 warriors into the field; but now their number is so greatly diminished by wars, epidemical diseases, and the use of spirituous liquors, that they cannot raise above 1500 men, even though they have admitted into their confederacy the nation of the Tuscaroras, whom the English drove from the confines of Carolina. The Mohawk Indians inhabit the country advanced from Albany: the northern extremities of New Hampshire and New York are divided by the lakes Champlain and Sacrament, between which the French had raised the fort of Crown Point.

28. Contiguous to New York, and lying along the coast, in a southerly direction, is the small province of New Jersey, bounded on the west by the river Delaware, which divides it from Pennsylvania; extending about 150 miles in length, but in breadth not more than one third of that extent. The climate, soil, and produce of these two provinces, as well as of Pennsylvania, are similar: they yield great quantities of grain, sheep, horses, hogs, and horned cattle; all kinds of poultry and game in great abundance, vegetables of every sort in perfection, and excellent fruit, particularly peaches and melons: their vast forests abound with oak, ash, beech, chestnut, cedar, walnut-tree, cypress, hickory, sassafras, and pine; but the timber is not counted so fit for shipping as that of New England and Nova Scotia. These provinces produce great quantities of flax and hemp: New York affords mines of iron; and very rich copper ore is found in New Jersey.

29. Pennsylvania, lying to the southward of New York and New Jersey, is bounded on the other side by Maryland, stretching 250 miles in length, 200 in breadth, and having no communication with the sea, except by the mouth of the river Delaware: this province was originally settled by quakers, under the auspices of the celebrated William Penn, whose descendants are still proprietaries of the country: Philadelphia, the capital, stands on a tongue of land, at the confluence of the two navigable rivers, the Delaware and the

Sculkel, disposed in the form of a regular oblong, and designed by the original plan to extend from the one to the other: the streets, which are broad, spacious, and uniform, cross each other at right angles, leaving proper spaces for churches, markets, and other public edifices: the houses are neatly built of brick, the quays spacious and magnificent, the warehouses large and numerous, and the docks commodious and well contrived for ship-building. Pennsylvania is understood to extend as far northerly as the banks of the lake Erie, where the French erected a fort: they also raised another at some distance to the southward of the Rivière-au-Bœuf, and made other encroachments on this colony.

30. Adjoining to part of Pennsylvania, on the sea-coast, lies the province of Maryland, a tract of land situated along the bay of Chesapeak, in length about 140 miles, and nearly of the same breadth, bounded on the north by Pennsylvania, on the east by the Atlantic ocean, and by the river Potomac on the south: this country was first planted with Roman catholics by lord Baltimore, to whom Charles II. granted it by patent: in the sequel however people of all religions were admitted into this settlement, and indulged with liberty of conscience; and at present the reigning religion is that of the English church: the climate is very sultry in summer, and not very salubrious: the soil is fruitful, and produces a great quantity of tobacco, which the people cultivate as their staple commodity: the seat of government is established at Annapolis, a small town beautifully situated on the river Patuxent.

31. Tracing the sea coast still southerly, the next settlement is Virginia, watered on the north by the river Potomac, which is the boundary between this and the colony last described, having the bay of Chesapeak to the east, bounded on the south by Carolina, and extending westward without any prescribed limits, though the plantations have reached no farther than the great Allegany mountains; so that the province, as now possessed, stretches in length above 240 miles, and in breadth not above 200, lying between the fifty-fifth and fortieth degrees of latitude. In sailing to Virginia, navigators steer through a strait formed by two points, called the Capes, into the bay of Chesapeak, a large inlet, that runs 300 miles into the country from south to north, covered from the Atlantic ocean by the eastern side of Maryland, and a small portion of Virginia on the same peninsula: this noble bay is about eighteen miles broad for a considerable

space, and seven at its narrowest part, yielding generally nine fathoms depth of water : on both sides it receives many navigable rivers ; those on the Virginia side being known by the name of James-river, York-river, the Rappahannock, and Potomac. This country, especially towards the sea, lies very low and swampy, and the soil is extremely fertile : the air and weather are variable, the heats of summer excessive, the frosts of winter sudden and intensely cold ; so that, on the whole, the climate is neither very agreeable nor healthy, the people being particularly subject to agues and pleuritic disorders : the province abounds with vast forests of timber ; the plains are covered with a surprising luxuriance of vegetables, flowers, and flowering shrubs, diffusing the most delicious fragrance : the ground yields plenty of corn and every sort of fruit in great abundance and perfection : horned cattle and hogs have here multiplied to admiration since they were first imported from Europe : the animals, natives of this and the neighboring countries, are deer, panthers or tigers, bears, wolves, foxes, squirrels, racoons, and creatures called opossums, with an infinite variety of beautiful birds, and a diversity of serpents, among which the rattle-snake is the most remarkable.

32. Virginia is bounded to the south by the two Carolinas, situated between the forty-sixth and thirty-first degrees of latitude ; the length amounting to upwards of 400 miles, and the breadth extending near 300, as far as the Indian nations called the Catawbas, the Creeks, and Cherokees. The country of Carolina is divided into two governments, of which the most northern is the most inconsiderable : the climate in both is the same, as well as the soil ; the first is warm, though not unhealthy ; the last extremely fertile, yielding every thing in plenty which is produced in Virginia, besides abundance of excellent oranges, and some commodities which are not found to the northward. North-Carolina, though not so opulent, is more populous than the southern part : the colonists of North-Carolina carry on a considerable traffic in tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, shingles, lumber, corn, peas, pork, and beef, tobacco, deer-skins, indigo, wheat, rice, bees-wax, tallow, bacon, and hog's lard, cotton, and squared timber, live cattle, with the skins of beaver, racoon, fox, minx, wild-cat, and otter. South-Carolina is much better cultivated ; the people are more civilised, and the commerce more important : the capital of this province, called Charles Town, is fine, y

situated at the confluence of two navigable rivers, having the advantage of a commodious harbor: their trade, exclusive of the articles we have already mentioned as common to this government and that of North-Carolina, consists of two chief staple commodities, rice and indigo, which they cultivate with great success; and they have likewise made some progress in the culture of silk.

33. The most southern of all our settlements on this coast is Georgia, extending about sixty miles from north to south, along the sea-shore; but widening in the inland parts to above 150, and stretching almost 300 from the sea to the Apalachian mountains. This country differs very little from that of South-Carolina, with which it borders; yet the summer is here more hot, and the soil not so fertile: Savannah, the capital, stands commodiously for trade, about ten miles from the sea, on a river of the same name, navigable with large boats 200 miles farther up to the second town called Augusta, a place that flourishes by the Indian trade of skins, which the inhabitants carry on with their neighbors, the Creeks, the Chickesaws, and the Cherokees, who are the most numerous and powerful tribes in America. Georgia is bounded on the south by the river Attamaha, at no great distance from the Spanish fort of St. Augustin.

34. Having thus exhibited a succinct view of the British colonies in North-America for the information of the reader, we shall now resume the thread of our history, and particularise the transactions by which the present year was distinguished on this extensive continent. The government of England having received nothing but evasive answers from the court of France touching the complaints that were made of the encroachments in America, despatched orders to all the governors of that country to repel force by force, and drive the French from their settlements on the river Ohio: accordingly the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania took this important affair into their consideration; but while they deliberated, the French vigorously prosecuted their designs on the other side of the mountains; they surprised Log's-town, which the Virginians had built on the Ohio; made themselves masters of the Block-house and Truck-house, where they found skins and other commodities to the amount of £20,000, and destroyed all the British traders, except two who found means to escape: at the same time, M. de Contrecoeur, with 1000 men and eighteen pieces of cannon, arrived in 300 canoes from Venango, a fort they

had raised on the banks of the Ohio; and reduced by surprise a British fort which the Virginians had built on the forks of the Monangahela, that runs into the same river.

35. These hostilities were followed by divers skirmishes between the people of the two nations, which were fought with various success: at length, the governors of the English settlements received orders from England to form a political confederacy for their mutual defence; and the governor of New York was directed to confer with the chiefs of the six nations, with a view to detach them from the French interest by dint of promises and presents of value, sent over for that purpose: a congress was accordingly appointed at Albany, to which place the governor of New York repaired, accompanied by commissioners from all the other British settlements; but a very small number of Indians arrived, and even these seemed to be indifferent to the advances and exhortations that were made by the English orator: the truth is, the French had artfully weaned them from their attachment to the subjects of Great Britain; nevertheless, they accepted the presents, renewed their treaties with the king of England, and even demanded his assistance in driving the French from the posts and possessions they had usurped within the Indian territories: it was in consequence of the measures here taken, that colonel Washington was detached from Virginia with 400 men, and occupied a post on the banks of the river Ohio, where he threw up some works, and erected a kind of occasional fort, in hopes of being able to defend himself in that situation, until he should be joined by a reinforcement from New York, which, however, did not arrive.

36. While he remained in this situation, De Viller, a French commander, at the head of 900 men, being on his march to dislodge Washington, detached one Jamonville, an inferior officer, with a small party, and a formal summons to colonel Washington, requiring him to quit the fort, which he pretended was built on ground belonging to the French or their allies: so little regard was paid to this intimation, that the English fell on this party, and, as the French affirm, without the least provocation, either slew or took the whole detachment: De Viller, incensed at these unprovoked hostilities, marched up to the attack, which Washington for some time sustained under manifold disadvantages: at length, however, he surrendered the fort on capitulation, for the performance of which he left two officers as hostages in

the hands of the French; and in his retreat was terribly harassed by the Indians, who plundered his baggage and massacred his people. This event was no sooner known in England, than the British ambassador at Paris received directions to complain of it to the French ministry, as an open violation of the peace; but this representation had no effect.

37. Both nations by this time foresaw that a rupture would be inevitable, and each resolved to make suitable preparations: France continued to send reinforcements of men and supplies of ammunition to Quebec for the prosecution of her ambitious projects; and the ministry of Great Britain transmitted salutary cautions to the governors of the provinces in North-America, exhorting them to join their endeavors for repelling the incursions of the enemy. Such a union as seemed necessary for their common preservation was not easily effected: the different colonies were divided by different views and interests, both religious and political; besides, every settlement was distracted into factions, formed by the governor and the demagogues of the assembly; in other words, an opposition like that in parliament, and a continual struggle between the liberties of the people and the prerogative of the proprietor, whether sovereign or subject. Mr. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, having demanded a certain perquisite or fee for every patent he should pass for land, the assembly voted his demand illegal, arbitrary, and oppressive: they declared that every man who paid it should be deemed an enemy to his country; and sent over an agent to London to solicit the suppression of this imposition: the representatives of the people in Pennsylvania wasted the time in vain deliberations and violent disputes with their proprietors, while the enemy infested their frontiers: the colony of New York was filled with discontent and animosity: Sir Danvers Osborne, who had been appointed governor of this province, died immediately after his arrival at New York, and the instructions he had received were exposed to public censure: the preamble inveighed severely against the want of duty, allegiance, loyalty, and unanimity, which had lately appeared so notorious in the assembly of that province, who had violated the royal commission and instructions, by assuming to themselves the power to dispose of public money in the laws which they had occasionally passed: this gentleman was therefore directed to insist on the reformation of all those public abuses, and on the

establishment of a certain supply for the service of the government, as well as on the settlement of a salary for himself: moreover, his majesty, in these instructions, signified his will and pleasure, that all money raised for the supply and support of government, or on any emergency for immediate service, should be disposed of and applied properly to the use for which it might be granted, by warrant from the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the council of the province, and no otherwise: that, nevertheless, the assembly should be permitted from time to time to view and examine the accounts of money disposed of by virtue of laws which they had enacted: that if any member of the council, or officer holding place of trust or profit within the government, should, in any manner whatever, give his assent to, or in any wise advise or concur with the assembly in passing any act or vote, whereby the royal prerogative might be lessened or impaired, or any money be raised or disposed of for the public service, contrary to, or inconsistent with, the method prescribed by these instructions, the governor should forthwith remove or suspend such counsellor or officer so offending, and give an immediate account of his proceedings to the commissioners of trade and plantations. These were peremptory injunctions, which plainly proved that the ministry was determined to support the prerogative with a high hand; but it must be owned, at the same time, that abundance of provocation had been given by the insolent opposition of some turbulent individuals, who had exerted all their influence in disturbing and distressing the views and designs of the government. While the British colonies in America were by these divisions in a great measure disabled from making vigorous efforts against the common enemy, the administration at home began to exert itself for their defence: officers were appointed for two regiments, consisting of two battalions each, to be raised in America, and commanded by Sir William Pepperel and governor Shirley, who had enjoyed the same command in the last war; and a body of troops was destined for the same service.

38. The most remarkable incident that marked this year on the continent of Europe, was the conversion of the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel, who had espoused the princess Mary of England: he now declared himself a Roman catholic, and was supposed to have been cajoled to this profession by the promises of certain powers, who flattered his ambition, in order to weaken the protestant

interest in Germany: his father, though deeply affected by his son's apostasy, did not fail to take immediate measures for preventing the evil consequences which might otherwise have flowed from his defection: he forthwith assembled the states of the landgraviate, in order to take such measures as might appear necessary to maintain the religion, laws, and constitution of the country; and the prince was laid under certain restrictions, which he did not find it an easy task to set aside: it was enacted that when the regency should devolve to him by succession, he should not have it in his power to alter the established laws, or grant any church to persons of the Roman communion for the public exercise of their religion; and that he should be excluded from all share in the education of his sons, the eldest of whom should be put in possession of the country of Hanau on his father's accession to the regency of the landgraviate: these resolutions were guarantied by the kings of Prussia and Denmark, by the maritime powers, and the evangelic body of the empire.

39. The exile of the parliament of Paris, far from having intimidated the other tribunals from performing what they apprehended to be their duty, served only to inflame the discontents of the people, and to animate all the courts of justice to a full exertion of their authority: the Chatelet continued to prosecute those priests who refused the sacrament to persons whose consciences would not allow them to subscribe to the bull Unigenitus, even after three of their members were sent to the Bastile: the same prosecutions were carried on, and bold remonstrances published by the parliaments of Aix and Rouen: in a word, the whole kingdom was filled with such confusion as threatened a total suppression of justice, in a general spirit of disaffection and universal anarchy: the prelates meanwhile seemed to triumph in the combustion they had raised: they entered into associations to support each other; they intrigued at court, and harassed the king with insolent declarations, till he grew tired of their proceedings, and opened his eyes to the fatal consequences of their pride and obstinacy: he even took an opportunity of exhorting the archbishop of Paris to act more suitably to the character of a clergyman: he recalled the parliament from exile; and they returned in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people, who celebrated their arrival at Paris with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy; and the archbishop, notwithstanding

the king's express declaration to the contrary, still persisting in countenancing the recusant priests, was banished to Conflans-sous-Charenton.

40. In Spain the interest of Great Britain was so warmly espoused and so powerfully supported by Mr. Wall, who had been resident in England, that the French party, though countenanced by the queen-mother, and sustained with all the influence of the marquis de la Ensenada, the prime minister, was totally defeated: the king, being convinced that it would be for the interest of his subjects to live on good terms with England, and well apprised of Ensenada's intrigues, ordered that minister to be arrested and confined and bestowed on Mr. Wall the best part of his employments: nevertheless, the Spaniards in the West-Indies continued to oppress the subjects of Great Britain employed in cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras; and representations on this head being made to the court of Madrid, the dispute was amicably adjusted between Mr. Wall and Sir Benjamin Keene, the British ambassador. While the interest of Britain thus triumphed in Spain, it seemed to lose ground at the court of Lisbon: his Portuguese majesty had formed vast projects of an active commerce, and even established an East-India company: in the mean time he could not help manifesting his chagrin at the great quantities of gold which were yearly exported from his dominions, as the balance due from his subjects on English commodities: in his endeavors to check this traffic, which he deemed so detrimental to his subjects, he inflicted hardships on the British merchants settled at Lisbon: some were imprisoned on frivolous pretences; others deprived of their property, and obliged to quit the kingdom: he insisted on laying an imposition of two per cent. on all the Portuguese gold that should be exported; but the profits of the trade would not bear such an exaction: meanwhile, there being a scarcity of corn in Portugal, the kingdom was supplied from England; and the people having nothing but gold to purchase this necessary supply, the king saw the necessity of conniving at the exportation of his coin, and the trade reverted into its former channel.

41. On the fourteenth of November the king of Great Britain opened the session of parliament with an harangue which intimated nothing of an approaching rupture: he said, that the general state of affairs in Europe had undergone very little alteration since their last meeting; that he

had lately received the strongest assurances from his good brother the king of Spain of friendship and confidence, which he would cultivate with harmony and good faith: he declared his principal view should be to strengthen the foundation and secure the duration of a general peace; to improve the present advantages of it for promoting the trade of his good subjects, and protecting those possessions which constituted one great source of their wealth and commerce: finally, he exhorted them to complete their plan for appropriating the forfeited estates in the highlands to the service of the public: he probably avoided mentioning the encroachments of France, that he might supply no handle for debates on the address, which was carried in both houses almost without opposition: the government seemed determined to humble the insolence of the French councils; and this disposition was so agreeable to the people in general, that they grudged no expense, and heartily concurred with the demands of the ministry.

42. The commons granted for the service of the ensuing year £4,073,729; £1,000,000 of that sum expressly given for enabling his majesty to augment his forces by land and sea: £32,000 were allotted as a subsidy to the king of Poland, and £20,000 to the elector of Bavaria: these gratifications met with little or no opposition in the committee of supply; because it was taken for granted, that in case of a rupture, France would endeavor to avail herself of her superiority by land, by invading his Britannic majesty's German dominions, and therefore it might be necessary to secure the assistance of such allies on the continent: that they prognosticated aright, with respect to the designs of that ambitious power, will soon appear in the course of this history, which will also demonstrate how little dependence is to be placed on the professed attachment of subsidiary princes. The supplies were raised by the standing branches of the revenue, the land-tax and malt-tax; and a lottery for £1,000,000; £100,000 of it to be deducted for the service of the public, and the remaining £900,000 to be charged on the produce of the sinking-fund, at the rate of three per cent, per annum, to commence from the fifth of January, 1756. The civil transactions of this session were confined to a few objects: divers new regulations were made for encouraging and improving the whale and white herring fishery, as well as for finishing and putting in a proper state of defence a new fort, lately built at Anamabo on the coast of Africa.

43. Mr. Pitt, the paymaster-general of the forces, brought in a bill, which will ever remain a standing monument of his humanity: the poor disabled veterans who enjoyed the pension of Chelsea-hospital were so iniquitously oppressed by a set of miscreants, who supplied them with money per advance at the most exorbitant rates of usury, that many of them, with their families, were in danger of starving; and the intention of government in granting such a comfortable subsistence was in a great measure defeated: Mr. Pitt, perceiving that this evil originally flowed from the delay of the first payment, which the pensioner could not touch till the expiration of a whole year after he had been put on the list, removed this necessity of borrowing, by providing in the bill, that half a year's pension should be advanced half a year before it is due; and the practice of usury was effectually prevented by a clause, enacting that all contracts should be void by which any pension might be mortgaged: this humane regulation was unanimously approved, and having passed through both houses with uncommon expedition, received the royal assent.

44. Notwithstanding the unanimity manifested by the commons in every thing relating to the measures for acting vigorously against the common enemy of the nation, they were remarkably disturbed and divided by a contested election of members for Oxfordshire: in the course of this dispute, the strength and influence of what they called the old and new interest, or to speak more intelligibly, of the tories and whigs in that county, were fully displayed: the candidates sustained on the shoulders of the old interest were lord viscount Wenman and Sir James Dashwood; their competitors, whom the new interest supported, and of consequence the ministry countenanced, were lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner. Never was any contention of this kind maintained with more spirit and animosity, or carried on at a greater expense: one would have imagined that each side considered it as a dispute which must have determined whether the nation should enjoy its ancient liberty, or tamely submit to the fetters of corruption: noblemen and gentlemen, clergymen and ladies, employed all their talents and industry in canvassing for either side throughout every township and village in the county: scandal emptied her whole quiver of insinuation, calumny, and lampoon; corruption was not remiss in promises and presents; houses of

entertainment were opened ; and nothing was for some time to be seen but scenes of tumult, riot, and intoxication : the revenue of many an independent prince on the continent would not have been sufficient to afford such sums of money as were expended in the course of this dispute : at length they proceeded to election, and the sheriff made a double return of all the four candidates, so that not one of them could sit ; and the county remained without a representative until this ambiguous affair could be decided in the house of commons. About the middle of November petitions being presented by the four candidates, as well as by the gentlemen, clergy, and other freeholders of the county, complaining of an undue election and double return, the matter of these petitions was heard at the bar of the house on the third of December : the counsel for lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood alleged, that they had the majority of votes on the poll, and this circumstance was admitted by the counsel on the other side ; then they proceeded to prove by evidence, that, after closing the poll, the sheriff declared the majority of votes to be in favor of these two candidates, and adjourned the court from the twenty-third of April to the eighth of May ; so that the scrutiny demanded and granted on the behalf of lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner could not be discussed before the last day in the month, when the writ was returnable ; that the scrutiny did not begin till the ninth of May, when the time was protracted by disputes about the manner in which it should be carried on ; that lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were allowed to object, through the whole poll, to the votes on the other side, on pretence that their competitors should be permitted to answer these objections, and in their turn object through the whole poll to the voters for lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner, who should, in the last place, have leave to answer ; that lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood had disapproved of this method, because they apprehended it might induce their competitors to make such a number of frivolous objections, that they should not have time to answer one half of them, much less to make objections of their own before the writ should be returned ; that they foresaw such a number of frivolous objections were made, as engrossed the attention of the court till the twenty-seventh of May, so that they could not begin to answer any of these objections till the twenty-eighth ; and on the

thirtieth, the sheriff, having closed the scrutiny, made the double return. The proof being exhibited, the counsel insisted, that, as they had established a majority on the poll, and demonstrated that this majority neither was nor could be overthrown by such an unfinished scrutiny, it was incumbent on the other side to proceed on the merits of the election, by endeavoring to overthrow that majority of which their clients were in possession: a question in the house being carried to the same purpose, lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood objected to 530 voters on the other side, whom they proposed to disqualify: their counsel examined several witnesses, to prove the partiality of the sheriff in favor of lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner, and to detect these candidates in the practice of bribery; for which purpose they produced a letter in their own handwriting: they afterwards proceeded to disqualify particular voters, and summed up their evidence on the twenty-first of January, 1755: then the counsel for the other side began to refute the charge of partiality and corruption, and to answer the objections that had been made to particular voters: they produced evidence to prove, that customary freeholders, or customary holdings, had voted at elections in the counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, Gloucester, Wells, and Hereford; and that the customary tenants of the manor of Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, had been reputed capable of voting, and even voted at elections for that county: in a word, they continued to examine evidences, argue and refute, prove and disprove, until the twenty-third of April, when, after some warm debates and divisions in the house, lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were declared duly elected; and the clerk of the crown was ordered to amend the return, by erasing the names of lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood: many, who presumed to think for themselves, without recollecting the power and influence of the administration, were astonished at the issue of this dispute, which however might have easily been foreseen; inasmuch as, during the course of the proceedings, most, if not all of the many questions debated in the house were determined by a great majority in favor of the new interest. A great number of copyholders had been admitted to vote at this election, and the sheriff incurred no censure for allowing them to take the oath appointed by law to be taken by freeholders: nevertheless, the commons carefully avoided deter-

mining the question, whether copyholders possessed of the yearly value of forty shillings, clear of all deductions, have not a right to vote for knights to represent the shire within which their copyhold estates are situated. This point being left doubtful by the legislature, puts it often in the power of the sheriff to return which of the candidates he pleases to support; for if the majority of the voting copyholders adheres to the interest of his favorites, he will admit their votes both on the poll and the scrutiny; whereas should they be otherwise disposed, he will reject them as unqualified: what effect this practice may have on the independence of parliament, every person must perceive, who reflects, that in almost all the counties of England, the high sheriffs are annually appointed by the minister for the time being.

45. The attention of the legislature was chiefly turned on the conduct of France, which preserved no medium, but seemed intent on striking some important blow, that might serve as a declaration of war: at Brest, and other ports in that kingdom, the French were employed in equipping a powerful armament, and made no scruple to own it was intended for North-America. Towards the latter end of March, Sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state, brought a message from the king to the parliament, intimating that his majesty, having at the beginning of the session declared his principal object was to preserve the public tranquillity, at the same time to protect those possessions which constitute one great source of the commerce and wealth of his kingdoms; he now found it necessary to acquaint the house of commons, that the present situation of affairs made it requisite to augment his forces by sea and land, and to take such other measures as might best tend to preserve the general peace of Europe, and to secure the just rights and possessions of his crown in America, as well as to repel any attempts whatsoever that might be made to support or countenance any designs which should be formed against his majesty and his kingdoms; and his majesty doubted not but his faithful commons, on whose affection and zeal he intirely relied, would enable him to make such augmentations, and to take such measures for supporting the honor of his crown and the true interest of his people, and for the security of his dominions in the present critical conjuncture, as the exigence of affairs might require; in doing which his ma-

parliament, on this important occasion, had enabled him to be prepared for such contingences as might happen; that, if reasonable and honorable terms of accommodation could be agreed on, he would be satisfied; and, at all events, rely on the justice of his cause, the effectual support of his people, and the protection of Divine Providence: the parliament was then prorogued to the twenty-seventh of May.

CHAP. XXIV.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1755.

1. Preparations for war—2. Earl Paulet's motion against the king's going to Hanover—3. Regency appointed during his majesty's absence—4. Boscawen's expedition. Alcide and Lys taken—5. French ambassador recalled—6. Their trade greatly distressed—7. Affairs of the English in America. Col. Monckton takes Beau-sejour—8. General Braddock's unfortunate expedition:—9. he falls into an ambuscade, is defeated, and killed—10. Disagreement between the governor and assembly of Pennsylvania—11. Expedition against Crown-Point and Niagara resolved on—12. General Johnson encamps at Lake George,—13. where he is attacked by the French, who are intirely defeated—14. Bravery of captain M'Ginnes—15. General Johnson created a baronet—16. Description of Fort Oswego and Lake Ontario—17. Neglect of the English in not fortifying it—18. Expedition against Niagara—19. General Shirley returns to Albany. End of the campaign in America—20. Fruitless intrigues of the French in Spain and Germany—21. Treaty of the king of Great Britain with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel—22. News of the capture of the Alcide and Lys reaches England—23. The king returns from Hanover, and concludes a treaty with Russia—24. Declaration of the French ministry at the court of Vienna—25. Spirited declaration of the king of Prussia—26. The French make another unsuccessful attempt on the court of Spain—27. The imperial court refuses auxiliaries to England—28. The French take the Blandford man of war, but return it—29. State of the English and French navies—30. Session opened—31. Remarkable addresses of the lords and commons—32. His majesty's answer—33. Alterations in the ministry. Mr. Fox made secretary of state—34. Supplies voted

—35. Earthquake at Lisbon—36. Relief voted by parliament to the Portuguese — 37. Troops, &c. voted — 38. Mutiny-bill, marine, and mariners' acts continued—39. Act for raising a regiment of foot in North-America — 40. Maritime laws of England extended to America—41. Quiet of Ireland restored—42. Treaty concluded with Prussia — 43. New militia-bill passed by the commons, but rejected by the lords—44. Session closed.

1. WHILST all Europe was in suspense about the fate of the English and French squadrons, preparations for a vigorous sea war were going forward in England with an unparalleled spirit and success: still the French court flattered itself, that Great Britain, out of tenderness to his majesty's German dominions, would abstain from hostilities: Mirepoix continued to have frequent conferences with the British ministry, who made no secret that their admirals, particularly Boscawen, had orders to attack the French ships wherever they should meet them; on the other hand, M. de Mirepoix declared that his master would consider the first gun fired at sea in a hostile manner as a declaration of war. This menace, far from intimidating the English, animated them to redouble their preparations for war: the press for seamen was carried on with extraordinary vigor in all parts of this kingdom, as well as in Ireland; and great premiums were given, not only by the government, but also, over and above his majesty's bounty, by almost all the considerable cities and towns in England, to such as should enlist voluntarily for sailors or soldiers: other branches of the public service went on with equal alacrity; and such was the eagerness of the people to lend their money to the government, that instead of £1,000,000, which was to be raised by way of lottery, £3,880,000 were subscribed immediately.

2. The situation of affairs requiring his majesty to go to Germany this summer, great apprehensions arose in the minds of many, lest the French should either intercept him in his journey, or prevent his return: earl Paulet had made a motion in the house of lords, humbly to represent to his majesty, 'that it was an article in the original act of settlement, by which the succession of these kingdoms devolved to his electoral house, that the king should not go to his foreign dominions without the consent of parliament, and that this was a principal article in the compact between the crown and the people: that though this article was repealed in the late reign, yet, till of late, it had always

been the custom for his majesty to acquaint the parliament with his intended departure to his German dominions, both in regard to the true sense and spirit of the act that placed him on the throne, as well as for the paternal kindness of his royal heart, and the condescension he had been so good to show to his parliament on all occasions; but that his majesty's declaration of his design to visit his electoral estates had always come on the last day of a session, when it was too late for the great constitutional council of the crown to offer such advice as might otherwise have been expedient and necessary: that his majesty's leaving his kingdoms in a conjuncture so pregnant with distress, so denunciative of danger, would not only give the greatest advantage to such as might be disposed to stir up disaffection and discontent, and to the constitutional and national enemies of England; but would also fill his loyal subjects with the most affecting concern, and most gloomy fears, as well for their own safety, as for that of their sovereign, whose invaluable life, at all times of the utmost consequence to his people, was then infinitely so, by reason of his great experience, the affection of every one to his royal person, and the minority of the heir apparent.' Such was the purport of this motion, but it was not seconded by any of the other lords.

3. The general uneasiness, on account of his majesty's departure, was greatly increased by an apprehension that there would, during his absence, be no good agreement amongst the regency, which consisted of the following persons: his royal highness William, duke of Cumberland; Thomas, lord archbishop of Canterbury; Philip, earl of Hardwicke, lord high chancellor; John, earl Granville, president of the council; Charles, duke of Marlborough, lord privy-seal; John, duke of Rutland, steward of the household; Charles, duke of Grafton, lord-chamberlain; Archibald, duke of Argyle; the duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; the duke of Dorset, master of the horse; the earl of Holderness, one of the secretaries of state; the earl of Rochford, groom of the stole; the marquis of Hartington, lord lieutenant of Ireland; lord Anson, first commissioner of the admiralty; Sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state; and Henry Fox, Esq. secretary at war. His majesty set out from St. James's on the twenty-eighth of April early in the morning, embarked at Harwich in the

afternoon, landed the next day at Helvoetsluys, and arrived at Hanover on the second of May.

4. Admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line and a frigate, having taken on board two regiments at Plymouth, sailed from thence on the twenty-seventh of April for the banks of Newfoundland; and in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Brest came to the same station, under the command of M. Bois de la Mothe: but the thick fogs which prevail on these coasts, especially at that time of the year, kept the two armaments from seeing each other; and part of the French squadron escaped up the river St. Lawrence, whilst another part of them went round, and got into the same river, through the straits of Belleisle, by a way which was never known to be attempted before by ships of the line: however, whilst the English fleet lay off Cape Race, which is the southernmost point of Newfoundland, and was thought to be the most proper situation for intercepting the enemy, two French ships, the Alcide, of sixty-four guns, and 480 men, and the Lys, pierced for fifty-four guns, but mounting only twenty-two, having eight companies of land forces on board, being separated from the rest of their fleet in the fog, fell in with the Dunkirk, captain Howe, and the Defiance, captain Andrews, two sixty-gun ships of the English squadron; and after a smart engagement, which lasted some hours, and in which captain, afterwards lord Howe, behaved with the greatest skill and intrepidity, were both taken, with several considerable officers and engineers, and about £8000 in money. Though the capture of these ships, from which the commencement of the war may in fact be dated, fell greatly short of what was hoped for from this expedition; yet, when the news of it reached England, it was of infinite service to the public credit of every kind, and animated the whole nation, who now saw plainly that the government was determined to keep no farther measures with the French, but justly to repel force by force; and put a stop to their sending more men and arms to invade the property of the English in America, as they had hitherto done with impunity: the French, who for some time did not even attempt to make reprisals on our shipping, would gladly have chosen to avoid a war at that time, and to have continued extending their encroachments on our settlements, till they had executed their grand plan of securing a communication from the Mississippi

to Canada by a line of forts, many of which they had already erected.

5. On the arrival of the news of this action at Paris, the French ambassador, M. de Mirepoix, was recalled from London, and M. de Bussy from Hanover, where he had just arrived, to attend the king of England in a public character: they complained loudly of Boscawen's attacking the ships, as a breach of national faith; but it was justly retorted on the part of England, that their encroachments in America had rendered reprisals both justifiable and necessary: the resolution of making them was the effect of mature deliberation in the English council: the vast increase of the French marine of late years, which in all probability would soon be employed against Great Britain, occasioned an order for making reprisals general in Europe as well as in America; and that all French ships, whether outward or homeward bound, should be stopped, and brought into British ports: to give the greater weight to these orders, it was resolved to send out those admirals who had distinguished themselves most towards the end of the last war: accordingly, on the twenty-first of July, Sir Edward Hawke sailed on a cruise to the westward, with eighteen ships of the line, a frigate, and a sloop; but, not meeting with the French fleet, these ships returned to England about the latter end of September and the beginning of October; on the fourteenth of which last month another fleet, consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, two frigates, and two sloops, sailed again on a cruise to the westward under admiral Byng, in hopes of intercepting the French squadron under Duguay, and likewise that commanded by La Mothe, in case of its return from America: but this fleet likewise returned to Spithead on the twenty-second of November, without having been able to effect any thing, though it was allowed by all that the admiral had acted judiciously in the choice of his stations.

6. While these measures were pursued, for the general security of the British coasts and trade in Europe, several new ships of war were begun, and finished with the utmost expedition, in his majesty's docks: twelve frigates and sloops, contracted for in private yards, were completed by the month of August; and twenty-four ships and twelve colliers were then taken into the service of the government, to be fitted out as vessels of war, to carry twenty guns and 120 men each: in the mean time the French trade was so annoyed by the English cruisers, that before the end of this year 300 of their merchant ships, many of which from St. Domingo and

Martinico were extremely rich, and 8000 of their sailors, were brought into English ports: by these captures the British ministry answered many purposes: they deprived the French of a great body of seamen, and withheld from them a very large property, the want of which greatly distressed their people, and ruined many of their traders: their outward-bound merchant ships were insured at the rate of thirty per cent. whilst the English paid no more than the common insurance. This intolerable burden was felt by all degrees of people amongst them; their ministry was publicly reviled even by their parliaments; and the French name, from being the terror, began to be the contempt of Europe: their uneasiness was also not a little heightened by new broils between their king and the parliament of Paris, occasioned by the obstinacy of the clergy of that kingdom, who seemed determined to support the church, in all events, against the secular tribunals; and as much as possible to enforce the observance of the bull *Unigenitus*, which had long been the occasion of so many disputes among them: however, the parliament continuing firm, and the French king approving of its conduct, the ecclesiastics thought proper to submit for the present, and in their general assembly this year granted him a free gift of 16,000,000 livres, which he demanded of them;—a greater sum than they had ever given before, even in time of war.

7. In the beginning of this year the assembly of Massachusetts-bay in New England passed an act, prohibiting all correspondence with the French at Louisburg; and early in the spring they raised a body of troops, which was transported to Nova Scotia, to assist lieutenant-governor Laurence in driving the French from the encroachments they had made on that province: accordingly, towards the end of May, the governor sent a large detachment of troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Monckton, on this service; and three frigates and a sloop were despatched up the bay of Fundy, under the command of captain Rous, to give their assistance by sea: the troops, on their arrival at the river Massaguash, found the passage stopped by a large number of regular forces, rebel neutrals, or Acadians, and Indians, 450 of whom occupied a block-house with cannon mounted on their side of the river; and the rest were posted within a strong breast-work of timber, thrown up by way of outwork to the block-house. The English provincials attacked this place with such spirit, that the enemy were obliged to fly, and leave them in possession of

the breast-work; then the garrison in the block-house deserted it, and left the passage of the river free: from thence colonel Monckton advanced to the French fort of Beau-sejour, which he invested, as far at least as the small number of his troops would permit, on the twelfth of June; and after four days' bombardment obliged it to surrender, though the French had twenty-six pieces of cannon mounted and plenty of ammunition, and the English had not yet placed a single cannon on their batteries: the garrison was sent to Louisburg, on condition of not bearing arms in America for the space of six months; and the Acadians, who had joined the French, were pardoned, in consideration of their having been forced into that service. Colonel Monckton, after putting a garrison into this place, and changing its name to that of Cumberland, the next day attacked and reduced the other French fort on the river Gaspereau which runs into Baie Verte; where he likewise found a large quantity of provisions and stores of all kinds, that being the chief magazine for supplying the French Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and other necessaries: he then disarmed these last, to the number of 15,000; and in the mean time, captain Rous with his ships sailed to the mouth of the river St. John, to attack the new fort the French had erected there; but they saved him that trouble, by abandoning it on his appearance, after having burst their cannon, blown up their magazine, and destroyed, as far as they had time, all the works they had lately raised: the English had but twenty men killed and about the same number wounded, in the whole of this expedition, the success of which secured the tranquillity of Nova Scotia.

8. While the New Englanders were thus employed in reducing the French in Nova Scotia, preparations were made in Virginia for attacking them on the Ohio: a fort was built, which was likewise called Fort Cumberland, and a camp formed at Wills's creek: on the fourteenth of January of this year, major-general Braddock, with colonel Dunbar's and colonel Halket's regiments of foot, sailed from Cork, in Ireland, for Virginia, where they all landed safe before the end of February: this general might consequently have entered on action early in the spring, had he not been unfortunately delayed by the Virginian contractors for the army, who, when he was ready to march, had neither provided a sufficient quantity of provisions for

his troops nor a competent number of carriages for his army: this accident was foreseen by almost every person who knew any thing of our plantations on the continent of America: for the people of Virginia, who think of no produce but their tobacco, and do not raise corn enough even for their own subsistence, being by the nature of their country well provided with the convenience of water conveyance, have but few wheel carriages, or beasts of burden; whereas Pennsylvania, which abounds in corn and most other sorts of provisions, has but little water-carriage, especially in its western settlements, where its inhabitants have great numbers of carts, waggons, and horses: Mr. Braddock should therefore certainly in point of prudence have landed in Pennsylvania; the contract for supplying his troops should have been made with some of the chief planters there, who could easily have performed their engagements; and if his camp had been formed near Frank's town, or somewhere on the south-west borders of that province, he would not have had eighty miles to march from thence to Fort Du Quesne, instead of 130 miles that he had to advance from Wills's creek, where he did encamp, through roads neither better nor more practicable than the other would have been. This error in the very beginning of the expedition, whether owing to an injudicious preference fondly given to the Virginians in the lucrative job of supplying these troops, or to any other cause, delayed the march of the army for some weeks, during which it was in the utmost distress for necessaries of all kinds; and would probably have defeated the expedition intirely for that summer, had not the contractors found means to procure some assistance from the back settlements of Pennsylvania: but even when these supplies did arrive, they consisted of only fifteen waggons, and 100 draught horses, instead of 150 waggons and 300 horses, which the Virginian contractors had engaged to furnish, and the provisions were so bad that they could not be used: however, some gentlemen in Pennsylvania, being applied to in this exigence, amply made up for these deficiencies, and the troops were by this means supplied with every thing they wanted. Another and still more fatal error was committed in the choice of the commander for this expedition: major-general Braddock, who was appointed to it, was undoubtedly a man of courage, and expert in all the punctilios of a review, having been brought up in the English guards; but he was naturally very haughty, positive, and difficult of

access; qualities ill suited to the temper of the people amongst whom he was to command: his extreme severity in matters of discipline had rendered him unpopular among the soldiers; and the strict military education in which he had been trained from his youth, and which he prided himself on scrupulously following, made him hold the American militia in great contempt, because they could not go through their exercise with the same dexterity and regularity as a regiment of guards in Hyde-park; little knowing, or indeed being able to form any idea of the difference between the European manner of fighting, and an American expedition through woods, deserts, and morasses. Before he left England, he received in the hand-writing of colonel Napier, a set of instructions from the duke of Cumberland: by these the attempt on Niagara was in a great measure referred to him, and the reduction of Crown-Point was to be left chiefly to the provincial forces: but above all, his royal highness, both verbally and in this writing, frequently cautioned him carefully to beware of an ambush or surprise: instead of regarding this salutary caution, his conceit of his own abilities made him disdain to ask the opinion of any under his command; and the Indians, who would have been his safest guards against this danger in particular, were so disgusted by the haughtiness of his behavior, that most of them forsook his banners. Under these disadvantages he began his march from Fort Cumberland on the tenth of June, at the head of about 2200 men, for the meadows, where colonel Washington was defeated the year before: on his arrival there, he was informed that the French at Fort du Quesne, which had lately been built on the same river, near its confluence with the Monangahela, expected a reinforcement of 500 regular troops: therefore, that he might march with a greater despatch, he left colonel Dunbar, with 800 men, to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as fast as the nature of the service would permit; and with the other 1200, together with ten pieces of cannon, and the necessary ammunition and provisions, he marched on with so much expedition, that he seldom took any time to reconnoitre the woods or thickets he was to pass through; as if the nearer he approached the enemy the farther he was removed from danger.

9. On the eighth of July he encamped within ten miles of Fort du Quesne: though colonel Dunbar was then near forty miles behind him, and his officers, particularly Sir

Peter Halket, earnestly entreated him to proceed with caution, and to employ the friendly Indians who were with him, by way of advanced guard, in case of ambuscades; yet he resumed his march the next day, without so much as endeavoring to obtain any intelligence of the situation or disposition of the enemy, or even sending out any scouts to visit the woods and thickets on both sides of him, as well as in front: with this carelessness he was advancing, when, about noon, he was saluted with a general fire on his front, and all along his left flank, from an enemy so artfully concealed behind the trees and bushes, that not a man of them could be seen: the vanguard immediately fell back on the main body, and in an instant the panic and confusion became general; so that most of the troops fled with great precipitation, notwithstanding all that their officers, some of whom behaved very gallantly, could do to stop their career. As to Braddock himself, instead of scouring the thickets and bushes from whence the fire came, with grape shot from the ten pieces of cannon he had with him, or ordering flanking parties of his Indians to advance against the enemy, he obstinately remained on the spot where he was, and gave orders for the few brave officers and men who stayed with him to form regularly and advance: meanwhile his men fell thick about him, and almost all his officers were singled out, one after another, and killed or wounded; for the Indians, who always take aim when they fire, and aim chiefly at the officers, distinguished them by their dress: at last, the general, whose obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, after having had some horses shot under him, received a musket shot through the right arm and lungs, of which he died in a few hours, having been carried off the field by the bravery of lieutenant-colonel Gage, and another of his officers: when he dropped, the confusion of the few that remained turned into a downright and very disorderly flight across a river which they had just passed, though no enemy appeared or attempted to attack them: all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left to the enemy, and, among the rest, the general's cabinet, with all his letters and instructions, which the French court afterwards made great use of in their printed memorials or manifestos. The loss of the English in this unhappy affair amounted to 700 men: their officers, in particular, suffered much more than in the ordinary proportion of battles in Europe: Sir Peter Halket fell by the very first fire, at the head of his

regiment; and the general's secretary, son to governor Shirley, was killed soon after. Neither the number of men which the enemy had in this engagement, nor the loss which they sustained, could be so much as guessed at; but the French afterwards gave out, that their number did not, in the whole, exceed 400 men, mostly Indians; and that their loss was quite inconsiderable, as it probably was, because they lay concealed in such a manner that the English knew not whither to point their muskets. The panic of these last continued so long, that they never stopped till they met the rear division, and even then they infected those troops with their terrors; so that the army retreated without stopping, till they reached Fort Cumberland, though the enemy did not so much as attempt to pursue, nor ever appeared in sight, either in the battle or after the defeat: on the whole, this was perhaps the most extraordinary victory that ever was obtained, and the farthest flight that ever was made.

10. Had the shattered remains of this army continued at Fort Cumberland, and fortified themselves there, as they might easily have done, during the rest of the summer, they would have been such a check on the French and their scalping Indians, as would have prevented many of those ravages that were committed in the ensuing winter on the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania; but, instead of taking that prudent step, their commander left only the sick and wounded at that fort, under the protection of two companies of the provincial militia, posted there by way of garrison, and began his march on the second of August, with about 1600 men, from Philadelphia, where those troops could be of no immediate service: from thence they were ordered away to Albany, in New York, by general Shirley, on whom the chief command of the troops in America had devolved by the death of major-general Braddock: Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were by these means left entirely to take care of themselves, which they might have done effectually, had they been united in their counsels; but the usual disputes between their governors and assemblies defeated every salutary plan that was proposed: Pennsylvania, the most powerful of the three, was rendered quite impotent, either for its own defence or that of its neighbors, by these unhappy contests; though, at last, the assembly of that province, sensible of the danger to which they were exposed, and seeing the absolute necessity of providing a

standing military force, and of erecting some forts to defend their western frontier, passed a bill for raising £50,000 : but even this sum, small as it was, even to a degree of ridicule, considering the richness of the province and the extent of its frontier, could not be obtained ; the governor positively refusing to give his assent to the act of the assembly, because they had taxed the proprietaries' estates equally with those of the inhabitants, which, he said, he was ordered by his instructions not to consent to, nor indeed any new tax on the proprietaries ; and the assembly, consisting chiefly of members whose estates lay in the eastern or interior parts of the province, as positively refusing to alter their bill. One would be apt to think, that in a case of such urgent necessity, the governor might have ventured to give his assent to the bill under a protest, that it should not prejudice the rights of the proprietaries on any future occasion ; but as he did not, the bill was dropped, and the province left defenceless ; by which means it afterwards suffered severely, to the destruction of many of the poor inhabitants on the western frontier, and to the impressing the Indians with a contemptible opinion of the English and the highest esteem of the French.

11. Our colonies to the north of Pennsylvania were more active, and more successful in their preparations for war : New York, following the example of New England, passed an act to prohibit the sending of provisions to any French port or settlement on the continent of North-America, or any of the adjacent islands ; and also for raising £45,000, on estates real and personal, for the better defence of their colony, which lay more exposed than any other to a French invasion from Crown-Point : however, this sum, great as it might seem to them, was far from being sufficient ; nor, indeed, could they have provided properly for their security without the assistance of our other colonies to the east of them ; but with their help, and the additional succor of the small body of regular troops expected under colonel Dunbar, they boldly resolved on offensive measures, which, when practicable, are always the safest ; and two expeditions, one against the French fort at Crown-Point, and the other against their fort at Niagara, between the lakes Ontario and Erie, were set on foot at the same time : the former of these expeditions was appointed to be executed under the command of general Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided on the Mohawk river, in the western parts of

New York, where he had acquired a considerable estate, and was universally beloved, not only by the inhabitants, but also by the neighboring Indians, whose language he had learned, and whose affections he had gained by his humanity towards them. The expedition against Niagara was commanded by general Shirley himself.

12. The rendezvous of the troops for both these expeditions was appointed to be at Albany, where most of them arrived before the end of June ; but the artillery, batteaux, provisions, and other necessaries for the attempt on Crown-Point could not be prepared till the eighth of August, when general Johnson set out with them from Albany for the carrying-place from Hudson's river to Lake George : there the troops had already arrived, under the command of major-general Lyman, and consisted of between 5000 and 6000 men, besides Indians, raised by the governments of Boston, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New York : every thing was then prepared as fast as possible for a march ; and towards the end of the month, general Johnson advanced about fourteen miles forward with his troops, and encamped in a very strong situation, covered on each side by a thick wooded swamp, by Lake George in his rear, and by a breast-work of trees, cut down for that purpose, in his front : here he resolved to wait the arrival of his batteaux, and afterwards to proceed to Tinconderoga, at the other end of the lake, from whence it was but about fifteen miles to the fort at the south end of Lake Corlaer, or Champlain, called Fort Frederic by the French, and by us Crown-Point. Whilst he was thus encamped, some of his Indian scouts, of which he took care to send out numbers along both sides, and to the farther end of Lake George, brought him intelligence that a considerable number of the enemy were then on their march from Ticonderoga, by the way of the south bay, towards the fortified encampment, since called Fort Edward, which general Lyman had built at the carrying-place ; and in which 400 or 500 of the New Hampshire and New York men had been left as a garrison : on this information, general Johnson sent two expresses, one after the other, to colonel Blanchard, their commander, with orders to call in all his out-parties, and to keep his whole force within the intrenchments. About twelve o'clock at night, those who had been sent on the second express returned with an account of their having seen the enemy within four miles of the camp

at the carrying-place, which they scarcely doubted their having by that time attacked : important as the defence of this place was for the safety of the whole army, and imminent as the danger seemed to be, it does not appear that the general then called any council of war, or resolved on any thing for its relief ; but early the next morning he called a council, wherein it was unadvisedly resolved to detach 1000 men, with a number of Indians, to intercept, or, as the general's expression was in his letter, to catch the enemy in their retreat, either as victors, or as defeated in their design : this expedient was resolved on, though no one knew the number of the enemy, nor could obtain any information in that respect from the Indian scouts ; because the Indians have no words or signs for expressing any large number, which, when it exceeds their reckoning, they signify by pointing to the stars in the firmament, or to the hair of their head ; and this they often do to denote a number less than 1000, as well as to signify 10,000, or any greater number.

13. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning 1000 men, with 200 Indians, were detached under the command of colonel Williams ; but they had not been gone two hours, when those in the camp began to hear a close firing at about three or four miles distance, as they judged : as it approached nearer and nearer, they rightly supposed that the detachment was overpowered, and retreating towards the camp ; which was soon confirmed by some fugitives, and presently after by whole companies, who fled back in great confusion : in a very short time after, the enemy appeared marching in regular order up to the centre of the camp, where the consternation was so great, that if they had attacked the breast-work directly, they might probably have thrown all into confusion, and obtained an easy victory ; but, fortunately for the English, they halted for some time about 150 yards distance, and from thence began their attack with platoon firing, too far off to do much hurt, especially against troops who were defended by a strong breast-work : on the contrary, this ineffectual fire served only to raise the spirits of these last, who, having prepared their artillery during the time that the French halted, began to play it so briskly on the enemy, that the Canadians and Indians in their service fled immediately into the woods on each side of the camp, and there squatted under bushes, or skulked behind trees, from whence they continued firing with very little execution,

most of their shot being intercepted by the brakes and thickets; for they never had the courage to advance to the verge of the wood. Baron Dieskau, who commanded the French, being thus left alone, with his regular troops, at the front of the camp, finding he could not make a close attack on the centre with his small number of men, moved first to the left, and then to the right, at both which places he endeavored to force a passage, but was repulsed, being unsupported by the irregulars: instead of retreating, as he ought in prudence to have done, he still continued his platoon and bush-firing till four o'clock in the afternoon, during which time his regular troops suffered greatly by the fire from the camp, and were at last thrown into confusion; which was no sooner perceived by general Johnson's men, than they, without waiting for orders, leaped over their breast-work, attacked the enemy on all sides, and, after killing and taking a considerable number of them, intirely dispersed the rest: the French, whose numbers, at the beginning of this engagement, amounted to about 2000 men, including 200 grenadiers, 800 Canadians, and the rest Indians of different nations, had between 700 and 800 men killed, and thirty taken prisoners: among the latter was baron Dieskau himself, whom they found at a little distance from the field of battle, dangerously wounded, and leaning on the stump of a tree for his support: the English lost about 200 men, and those chiefly of the detachment under colonel Williams; for they had very few either killed or wounded in the attack on their camp, and not any of distinction, except colonel Titcomb killed, and the general himself and major Nichols wounded: among the slain of the detachment, which would probably have been intirely cut off had not lieutenant-colonel Cole been sent out from the camp with 300 men, with which he stopped the enemy's pursuit, and covered the retreat of his friends, were colonel Williams, major Ashley, six captains, and several subalterns, besides private men; and the Indians reckoned that they had lost forty men, besides the brave old Hendrick, the Mohawk sachem, or chief captain.

14. When baron Dieskau set out from Ticonderoga, his design was only to surprise and cut off the intrenched camp, now called Fort Edward, at the carrying-place, where there were but 400 or 500 men: if he had executed this scheme, our army would have been thrown into great difficulties; for it could neither have proceeded farther, nor have subsisted where it was; and he might have found an opportunity to

attack it with great advantage in its retreat: but when he was within four or five miles of that fort, his people were informed that there were several cannon there, and none at the camp; on which they all desired to be led on to this last, which he the more readily consented to, as he himself had been told by an English prisoner, who had left this camp but a few days before, that it was quite defenceless, being without any lines, and destitute of cannon, which, in effect, was true at that time; for the cannon did not arrive, nor was the breast-work erected, till about two days before the engagement: to this misinformation therefore must be imputed this step, which otherwise would be inconsistent with the general character and abilities of baron Dieskau. A less justifiable error seems to have been committed by general Johnson, in not detaching a party to pursue the enemy when they were defeated and fled: perhaps he was prevented from so doing by the ill fate of the detachment he had sent out in the morning under colonel Williams: however that may be, his neglect, in this respect, had like to have been fatal the next day to a detachment sent from Fort Edward, consisting of 120 men of the New Hampshire regiment, under captain M'Ginnes, as a reinforcement to the army at the camp: this party fell in with between 300 and 400 men of Dieskau's troops, near the spot where colonel Williams had been defeated the day before; but M'Ginnes, having timely notice by his scouts of the approach of an enemy, made such a disposition, that he not only repulsed the assailants, but defeated and intirely dispersed them, with the loss only of two men killed, eleven wounded, and five missing: he himself unfortunately died of the wounds he received in this engagement a few days after he arrived at the camp with his party.

15. It was now judged too late in the year to proceed to the attack of Crown-Point; as it would have been necessary, in that case, to build a strong fort in the place where the camp then was, in order to secure a communication with Albany, from whence only the troops could expect to be reinforced, or supplied with fresh stores of ammunition or provisions: they therefore set out on their return soon after this engagement, having first erected a little stockaded fort, at the hither end of Lake George, in which they left a small garrison, as a future prey for the enemy;—a misfortune which might easily have been foreseen, because this whole army, being country militia, was to be disbanded, and return

to their respective homes, as they actually did soon after their retreat to Albany. This was all the glory, this all the advantage, that the English nation acquired by such an expensive expedition: but so little had the English been accustomed of late to hear of victory, that they rejoiced at this advantage, as if it had been an action of the greatest consequence: the general was highly applauded for his conduct, and liberally rewarded; for he was created a baronet by his majesty, and presented with £5000 by the parliament.

16. The preparations for general Shirley's expedition against Niagara were not only deficient, but shamefully slow; though it was well known that even the possibility of his success must, in a great measure, depend on his setting out early in the year, as will appear to any person who considers the situation of our fort at Oswego, this being the only way by which he could proceed to Niagara. Oswego lies on the south-east side of the lake Ontario, near 300 miles almost due west from Albany in New York: the way to it from thence, though long and tedious, is the more convenient, as the far greatest part of it admits of water-carriage, by what the inhabitants called batteaux, which are a kind of light flat-bottomed boats, widest in the middle, and pointed at each end, of about 1500 weight burden, and managed by two men, called batteau men, with paddles and setting poles, the rivers being in many places too narrow to admit of oars: from Albany to the village of Shenectady, about sixteen miles, is a good waggon-road: from thence to the little falls in the Mohawk river, being sixty-five miles, the passage is by water-carriage up that river, and consequently against the stream, which in many places is somewhat rapid, and in others so shallow, that, when the river is low, the watermen are obliged to get out, and draw their batteaux over the rifts. At the little falls is a postage, or land carriage, for about a mile, over a ground so marshy, that it will not bear any wheel carriage; but a colony of Germans settled there attend with sledges, on which they draw the loaded batteaux to the next place of embarkation on the same river: from thence they proceed by water up that river, for fifty miles, to the carrying-place, near the head of it, where there is another postage, the length of which depends on the dryness or wetness of the season, but is generally above six or eight miles over in the summer months: here the batteaux are again carried on sledges, till

they come to a narrow river called Wood's creek, down which they are wafted on a gentle stream, for about forty miles, into the lake Oneyada, which stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and is passed with great ease and safety in calm weather: at the western end of the lake is the river Onondaga, which, after a course of between twenty and thirty miles, unites with the river Cayuga, or Seneca; and their united streams run into the lake Ontario, at the place where Oswego fort is situated: but this river is so rapid, as to be sometimes dangerous, besides its being full of rifts and rocks; and about twelve miles on this side of Oswego there is a fall of eleven feet perpendicular, where there is consequently a postage, which, however, does not exceed forty yards: from thence the passage is easy, quite to Oswego: the lake Ontario, on which this fort stands, is near 280 leagues in circumference: its figure is oval, and its depth runs from twenty to twenty-five fathoms: on the north side of it are several little gulfs: there is a communication between this lake and that of the Hurons by the river Tanasuate, from whence it is a land carriage of six or eight leagues to the river Toronto, which falls into it. The French have two forts of consequence on this lake; Frontenac, which commands the river St. Lawrence, where the lake communicates with it; and Niagara, which commands the communication between the lake Ontario and the lake Erie: but of these forts, and this last lake, which is one of the finest in the world, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

17. Though we had long been in possession of fort Oswego, and though it lay greatly exposed to the French, particularly to those of Canada, on any rupture between the two nations, we had never taken care to render it tolerably defensible, or even to build a single vessel fit for navigating the lake; nor was this strange neglect ever taken effectual notice of till the beginning of this year, when, at a meeting which general Braddock had in April with the governors and chief gentlemen of several of our colonies at Alexandria, in Virginia, it was resolved to strengthen both the fort and garrison at Oswego, and to build some large vessels at that place: accordingly a number of shipwrights and workmen were sent thither in May and June: at the same time captain Bradstreet marched thither with two companies of 100 men each, to reinforce the 100 that were there before under captain King, to which number the garrison had been increased since our contests with France began to grow

serious : for a long time before, not above twenty-five men were left to defend this post, which from its great importance, and the situation of affairs at this juncture, most certainly required a much stronger garrison than was put into it even at this period ; but economy was the chief thing consulted in the beginning of this war, and to that in a great measure was owing its long duration.

18. From the above description of the passage from Albany to Oswego, it is plain how necessary it was that the troops intended for this expedition should have set out early in the spring : but instead of that, the very first of them, colonel Schuyler's New Jersey regiment, did not begin their march till after the beginning of July ; and just as Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments were preparing to follow, the melancholy account of Braddock's disaster arrived at Albany, where it so damped the spirits of the people, and spread such a terror, that many of the troops deserted, and most of the batteau men dispersed and ran home, by which means even all the necessary stores could not be carried along with the troops. Notwithstanding this disappointment, general Shirley set out from Albany, before the end of July, with as many of the troops and stores as he could procure a conveyance for, hoping to be joined in his route by great numbers of the Indians of the six nations, to whom he sent invitations to that effect as he passed by their settlements ; but they, instead of complying with his desire, absolutely declared against all hostilities on that side of the country, and insisted that Oswego, being a place of traffic and peace, ought not to be disturbed either by the English or the French ; as if they could have persuaded both parties to agree to such a local truce. On this refusal, Mr. Shirley proceeded forward, being joined by very few Indians, and arrived at Oswego on the seventeenth or eighteenth of August ; but the rest of the troops and artillery did not arrive till the last day of that month ; and even then, their store of provisions was not sufficient to enable them to proceed against Niagara, though some tolerable good vessels had by this time been built and got ready for that purpose. The general now resolved to take but 600 men with him for the attack of Niagara ; and to leave the rest of his army, consisting of about 1400 more, at Oswego, to defend that place, in case the French should attack it in his absence ; which there was reason to apprehend they might, as they then had a considerable force at Fort Frontenac, from whence they

they come to a narrow river called Wood's creek, down which they are wafted on a gentle stream, for about forty miles, into the lake Oneyada, which stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and is passed with great ease and safety in calm weather: at the western end of the lake is the river Onondaga, which, after a course of between twenty and thirty miles, unites with the river Cayuga, or Seneca; and their united streams run into the lake Ontario, at the place where Oswego fort is situated: but this river is so rapid, as to be sometimes dangerous, besides its being full of rifts and rocks; and about twelve miles on this side of Oswego there is a fall of eleven feet perpendicular, where there is consequently a postage, which, however, does not exceed forty yards: from thence the passage is easy, quite to Oswego: the lake Ontario, on which this fort stands, is near 280 leagues in circumference: its figure is oval, and its depth runs from twenty to twenty-five fathoms: on the north side of it are several little gulfs: there is a communication between this lake and that of the Hurons by the river Tanasuate, from whence it is a land carriage of six or eight leagues to the river Toronto, which falls into it. The French have two forts of consequence on this lake; Frontenac, which commands the river St. Lawrence, where the lake communicates with it; and Niagara, which commands the communication between the lake Ontario and the lake Erie: but of these forts, and this last lake, which is one of the finest in the world, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

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of mediator; but Mr. Wall, who was perfectly well acquainted with the state of affairs between England and France, seconded the representations of the British ministry, which demonstrated, that, however willing Great Britain might be to accept of the mediation of Spain, she could not agree to any suspension of arms in America, which France insisted on as a preliminary condition, without hazarding the whole of her interest there; and that the captures which had been made by the English were the necessary consequences of the encroachments and injustice of the French, particularly in that country: on this remonstrance, all farther talk of the mediation of Spain was dropped; and the ministry of Versailles had recourse to the princes of Germany, amongst whom the elector of Cologne was soon brought over to their party, so as to consent to their forming magazines in his territories in Westphalia: this was a plain indication of their design against Hanover, which they soon after made his Britannic majesty, who was then at Hanover, an offer of sparing, if he would agree to certain conditions of neutrality for that electorate, which he rejected with disdain. Then the count d'Aubeterre, envoy extraordinary from France at the court of Vienna, proposed a secret negociation with the ministers of the empress-queen: the secret articles of the treaty of Petersburg between the two empresses had stipulated a kind of partition of the Prussian territories, in case that prince should infringe the treaty of Dresden: but his Britannic majesty, though often invited, had always refused to agree to any such stipulation; and the king of Poland, however he might be inclined to favor the scheme, did not dare to avow it formally till matters should be more ripe for carrying it into execution: the court of Vienna, whose favorite measure this was, began to listen to d'Aubeterre's insinuations, and by degrees entered into negotiations with him, which in the end were productive of that unnatural confederacy between the empress-queen and the king of France, of which farther notice will be taken in the occurrences of the next year, when the treaty between them, into which they afterwards found means secretly to bring the empress of Russia, was concluded at Versailles.

21. The king of England, taking it for granted that the French would invade Hanover, in consequence of their rupture with Great Britain, which seemed to be near at

hand, began to take measures for the defence of that electorate: to this end, during his stay at Hanover, he concluded, on the eighteenth of June, a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, by which his serene highness engaged to hold in readiness, during four years, for his majesty's service, a body of 8000 men, to be employed, if required, on the continent, or in Britain or Ireland, but not on board the fleet or beyond the seas; and also, if his Britannic majesty should judge it necessary or advantageous for his service, to furnish and join to this body of 8000 men, within six months after they should be demanded, 4000 more, of which 700 were to be horse or dragoons, and each regiment of infantry to have two field pieces of cannon.¹ Another treaty was begun with Russia about the same time; but this did not take effect during his majesty's residence at Hanover: that others were not concluded was the more surprising, as our subsidy treaty with Saxony had then expired, and that with Bavaria was near expiring; and as the securing of these two princes in our interest was at least as necessary towards forming a sufficient confederacy on the continent for the defence of Hanover, as it was to secure the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. If the reason of their not being engaged, (and no other seems so probable) was, that they refused to renew their treaties with England on any terms; all that can be said is, that they were guilty of flagrant ingratitude,

¹ The king, on his side, promised to pay to the landgrave for these succors, eight crowns banco, by way of levy-money, for every trooper or dragoon duly armed and mounted, and thirty crowns banco for every foot soldier; the crown to be reckoned at fifty-three sols of Holland, or at four shillings and ninepence three farthings English money; and also to pay to his serene highness, for the 8000 men, an annual subsidy of 150,000 crowns banco, during the four years, to commence from the day of signing the treaty; which subsidy was to be increased to 300,000 crowns yearly, from the time of requiring the troops to the time of their entering into British pay; and in case of their being dismissed, the said subsidy of 300,000 crowns was then to revive and be continued during the residue of the term: but if 12,000 men were demanded and furnished, the subsidy was then to be increased in proportion; and in case the king of Great Britain should at any time think fit to send back these troops before the expiration of the treaty, notice thereof was to be given to his serene highness three months beforehand; one month's pay was to be allowed them for their return; and they were to be furnished gratis with the necessary transport vessels.

as they had both received a subsidy from this kingdom for many years in time of peace, when they neither were nor could be of any service to the interest of Great Britain.

22. On the fifteenth of July an express arrived from admiral Boscawen, with an account of his having taken the two French ships of war the Alcide and the Lys: this was certainly contrary to the expectation of the court of France; for had they apprehended any such attack, they would not have ordered Mr. M'Namara to return to Brest with the chief part of their squadron; nor was it, perhaps, less contrary to the expectation of some of our own ministry: but as matters had been carried so far, it was then too late to retreat; and therefore orders were soon after given to all our ships of war to make reprisals on the French, by taking their ships wherever they should meet them. Sir Edward Hawke sailed from Portsmouth on the twenty-first of July, with eighteen ships of war, to watch the return of the French fleet from America, which however escaped him, and arrived at Brest on the third of September. Commodore Frankland sailed from Spithead for the West-Indies on the thirteenth of August with four ships of war, furnished with orders to commit hostilities, as well as to protect our trade and sugar islands from any insult that the French might offer; and the duke de Mirepoix, their ambassador at the court of London, set out for Paris on the twenty-second of July without taking leave.

23. A war being thus in some measure begun, his majesty thought proper, perhaps for that reason, to return to his British dominions sooner than usual; for he left Hanover on the eighth of September, and arrived on the fifteenth at Kensington, where the treaty of alliance between him and the empress of Russia, which he had begun during his absence, was concluded on the thirtieth of the same month: by this treaty her Russian majesty engaged to hold in readiness in Livonia, on the frontiers of Lithuania, a body of troops consisting of 40,000 infantry, with the necessary artillery, and 15,000 cavalry; and also on the coast of the same province forty or fifty galleys, with the necessary crews; to be ready to act, on the first order, in his majesty's service, in case, said the fifth article, which was the most remarkable, that the dominions of his Britannic majesty in Germany should be invaded on account of the interests or disputes which regard his kingdoms; her imperial majesty declaring that she would look on such an invasion as a case of the alliance

of the year 1742, and that the said dominions should be therein comprised in this respect; but neither these troops nor galleys were to be put in motion, unless his Britannic majesty or his allies should be somewhere attacked; in which case the Russian general should march, as soon as possible after requisition, to make a diversion with 30,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry; and should embark on board the galleys the other 10,000 infantry to make a descent according to the exigence of the affair. On the other side, his Britannic majesty engaged to pay to her Russian majesty an annual subsidy of £100,000 sterling a year, each year to be paid in advance, and to be reckoned from the day of the exchange of the ratifications to the day that these troops should on requisition march out of Russia; from which day the annual subsidy to her imperial majesty was to be £500,000 sterling, to be paid always four months in advance, until the troops should return into the Russian dominions, and for three months after their return: his Britannic majesty, who was to be at liberty to send once every year into the said province of Livonia a commissary, to see and examine the number and condition of the said troops, farther engaged, that in case her Russian majesty should be disturbed in this diversion, or attacked herself, he would furnish immediately the succor stipulated in the treaty of 1742; and that in case a war should break out, he would send into the Baltic a squadron of his ships, of a force suitable to the circumstances. This was the chief substance of the treaty, which, by agreement of both parties, was to subsist for four years from the exchange of the ratifications; but in the seventh article these words were unluckily inserted:—‘considering also the proximity of the countries wherein the diversion in question will probably be made, and the facility her troops will probably have of subsisting immediately in an enemy’s country, she takes on herself alone, during such a diversion, the subsistence and treatment of the said troops by sea and land:’ and in the eleventh article it was stipulated, that all the plunder the Russian army should take from the enemy should belong to them. That his Britannic majesty, who now knew enough of the court of Vienna to be sensible that he could expect no assistance from thence, in case his German dominions were invaded, should enter into this convention with the empress of Russia, in order to strengthen his defence on the continent, was extremely natural; especially as he had lately lived in great friendship with her,

and her transactions with the court of France had been so secret, by passing through only that of Vienna, that he had not yet been informed of them; neither had the project of the treaty of Versailles then come to his knowledge, or to that of the king of Prussia; nor had either of these princes yet made any formal advances to the other.

24. The first intimation that appeared publicly of the negotiations of France with the empress of Germany, was when the French minister, count d'Aubeterre, declared at Vienna, 'that the warlike designs with which the king his master was charged, were sufficiently confuted by his great moderation, of which all Europe had manifold proofs; that his majesty was persuaded this groundless charge had given as much indignation to their imperial majesties as to himself; that he was firmly resolved to preserve to christendom that tranquillity which it enjoyed through his good faith, in religiously observing the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but that if his Britannic majesty's allies should take part in the war which was kindled in America, by furnishing succors to the English, his majesty would be authorised to consider and treat them as principals in it.' France likewise made the same declaration to other courts.

25. The words and stipulation in the above-recited clause, in the seventh article of the treaty of Great Britain with Russia, were looked on as a menace levelled at the king of Prussia, who, having some time found means to procure a copy of this treaty, and seeing it in that light, boldly declared, by his ministers at all the courts of Europe, that he would oppose with his utmost force the entrance of any foreign troops into the empire under any pretence whatever: this declaration was particularly displeasing to the French, who had already marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of the empire, and erected several great magazines in Westphalia, with the permission of the elector of Cologne, for which the English minister at his court was, in August, ordered to withdraw from thence without taking leave: however, as soon as this declaration of the king of Prussia was notified to the court of Versailles, they sent an ambassador extraordinary, the duke de Nivernois, to Berlin, to try to persuade his majesty to retract his declaration, and enter into a new alliance with them: his Prussian majesty received this ambassador in such a manner as seemed to denote a disposition to agree to every thing he had to pro-

pose : this awakened in England a jealousy that his declaration alone was not to be relied on, but that it was necessary to bring him under some solemn engagement ; especially as the French had by this time a numerous army near the Lower Rhine, with magazines provided for their march all the way to Hanover ; and if the king of Prussia suffered them to pass through his dominions, that electorate must be swallowed up before the Russian auxiliaries could possibly be brought thither, or any army be formed for protecting it :² for this reason a negotiation was set on foot by Great Britain at Berlin ; but as it was not concluded before the beginning of the next year, we shall defer entering into the particulars of it till we come to that period.

26. Meanwhile the French made another attempt on the court of Madrid, loudly complaining of the taking of their two men of war by Boscawen's squadron, before any declaration of war was made ; representing it as a most unjustifiable proceeding, which threatened a dissolution of all faith amongst nations : this produced a strong memorial from Sir Benjamin Keene, our minister at that court, importing, 'that it was well known that the French fleet carried troops, ammunition, and every thing necessary for defending the countries which the French had unjustly usurped in America, and of which the English claimed the property ; that the rules of self-defence authorise every nation to render fruitless any attempt that may tend to its prejudice ; that this right had been made use of only in taking the two French ships of war ; and that the distinction of place might be interpreted in favor of the English, seeing the two ships were taken on the coasts of the countries where the contest arose.' In answer to this observation, the French minister represented the vast number of ships that had been taken in the European seas ; for in fact the English ports soon began to be filled with them in consequence of the general orders for making reprisals : but the court of Madrid was so far from being persuaded by any thing he could say, that it gave his Britannic majesty the strongest assurances of its friendship, and of its intention to

² Perhaps the elector of Hanover was more afraid of the Prussian monarch than of the most christian king, knowing with what ease and rapidity this enterprising neighbor could in a few days subdue the whole electorate.

take no part in the differences between him and France, but such as should be conciliatory, and tending to restore the public tranquillity.

27. On the other hand, his Britannic majesty required, as king of Great Britain, the auxiliaries stipulated to him by treaty from the empress-queen; but these were refused, under pretence, that as the contest between him and France related to America only, it was not a case of the alliance; though at the same time the French made no scruple of owning that they intended to make a powerful descent on Great Britain early in the spring. When, a little while after, France being employed in making great preparations for a land war in Europe, the king of England required her to defend her own possessions, the barrier in the Low Countries, with the number of men stipulated by treaty; which countries, acquired by English blood and English treasure, had been given to her on that express condition, she declared that she could not spare troops for that purpose, on account of her dangerous enemy, the king of Prussia; and afterwards, when he was secured by his treaty with England, she urged that as a reason for her alliance with France: it must be owned, however, for the sake of historical truth, that this was no bad reason, considering the power, the genius, and the character of that prince, who hovered over her dominions with an army of 150,000 veterans: it must likewise be owned, that she undertook to procure the French king's consent to a neutrality for Hanover, which would have effectually secured that electorate from the invasion of every other power but Prussia itself; and it is no strained conjecture to suppose, that the dread of this very power was the true source of those connexions in Germany, which entailed such a ruinous continental war on Great Britain.

28. Though the English continued to make reprisals on the French, not only in the seas of America, but also in those of Europe, by taking every ship they could meet with, and detaining them, their cargoes, and crews; yet the French, whether from a consciousness of their want of power by sea, or that they might have a more plausible plea to represent England as the aggressor, were so far from returning these hostilities, that their fleet, which escaped Sir Edward Hawke, having on the thirteenth of August taken the Blandford ship of war with governor Lyttelton on board, going to Carolina, they set the governor at liberty as

soon as the court was informed of the ship's being brought into Nantes, and shortly after released both the ship and crew: however, at the same time, their preparations for a land war still went on with great diligence, and their utmost arts and efforts were fruitlessly exerted to persuade the Spaniards and Dutch to join with them against Great Britain.

29. In England the preparations by sea became greater than ever; several new ships of war were put in commission, and many others taken into the service of the government; the exportation of gunpowder was forbidden; the bounties to seamen were continued, and the number of those that either entered voluntarily or were pressed increased daily, as did also the captures from the French, among which was the *Esperance*, of seventy guns, taken as she was going from Rochefort to Brest to be manned: the land forces of Great Britain were likewise ordered to be augmented; several new regiments were raised; and all half-pay officers, and the out-pensioners belonging to Chelsea-hospital, were directed to send in their names, ages, and time of service, in order that such of them as were yet able to serve might be employed again if wanted. The English navy, so early as in the month of September of this year, consisted of one ship of 110 guns, five of 100 guns each, thirteen of ninety, eight of eighty, five of seventy-four, twenty-nine of seventy, four of sixty-six, one of sixty-four, thirty-three of sixty, three of fifty-four, twenty-eight of fifty, four of forty-four, thirty-five of forty, and forty-two of twenty, four sloops of war of eighteen guns each, two of sixteen, eleven of fourteen, thirteen of twelve, and one of ten, besides a great number of bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders; a force sufficient to oppose the united maritime strength of all the powers in Europe; whilst that of the French, even at the end of this year, and including the ships then on the stocks, amounted to no more than six ships of eighty guns, twenty-one of seventy-four, one of seventy-two, four of seventy, thirty-one of sixty-four, two of sixty, six of fifty, and thirty-two frigates.

30. Such was the situation of the two kingdoms, when, on the thirteenth of November, the parliament met, and his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he acquainted them that the most proper measures had been taken to protect our possessions in America, and to regain such parts thereof as had been encroached on

or invaded ; that to preserve his people from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent a general war from being lighted up in Europe, he had been always ready to accept reasonable and honorable terms of accommodation, but that none such had been proposed by France ; that he had also confined his views and operations to hinder France from making new encroachments, or supporting those already made ; to exert his people's right to a satisfaction for hostilities committed in time of profound peace, and to disappoint such designs, as, from various appearances and preparations, there was reason to think had been formed against his kingdoms and dominions ; that the king of Spain earnestly wished the preservation of the public tranquillity, and had given assurances of his intention to continue in the same pacific sentiments ; that he himself had greatly increased his naval armaments, and augmented his land forces in such a manner as might be least burdensome ; and, finally, that he had concluded a treaty with the empress of Russia, and another with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, which should be laid before them.'

31. In answer to this speech, both houses voted most loyal addresses, but not without a warm opposition in each to some of the particular expressions ; for it having been proposed in the house of lords to insert in their address the words following ; viz. 'that they looked on themselves as obliged, by the strongest ties of duty, gratitude, and honor, to stand by and support his majesty in all such wise and necessary measures and engagements as his majesty might have taken in vindication of the rights of his crown, or to defeat any attempts which might be made by France, in resentment for such measures, and to assist his majesty in disappointing or repelling all such enterprises as might be formed, not only against his kingdoms, but also against any other of his dominions, (though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain) in case they should be attacked on account of the part which his majesty had taken for maintaining the essential interests of his kingdoms ;' the inserting of these words in their address was opposed by earl Temple and several other lords ; because, by the first part of them, they engaged to approve of the treaties with Russia and Hesse-Cassel, neither of which they had ever seen, nor could it be supposed that either of them could be of any advantage to this nation ; and by the second part of these words it seemed to be resolved to engage this nation in a

continental connexion for the defence of Hanover, which it was impossible for England to support; and which would be so far from being of any advantage to it at sea or in America, that it might at last disable the nation from defending itself in either of those parts of the world: but on putting the question, the inserting of these words was agreed to by a great majority, and accordingly they stand as part of the address of the house on that occasion.

32. To this remarkable address his majesty returned the following as remarkable answer:—‘My lords, I give you my hearty thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address: I see, with the greatest satisfaction, the zeal you express for my person and government, and for the true interest of your country, which I am determined to adhere to: the assurances which you give me for the defence of my territories abroad, are a strong proof of your affection for me and regard for my honor: nothing shall divert me from pursuing those measures which will effectually maintain the possessions and rights of my kingdoms, and procure reasonable and honorable terms of accommodation.’ The address of the house of commons breathed the same spirit of zeal and gratitude, and was full of the warmest assurances of a ready support of his majesty and of his foreign dominions, if attacked in resentment of his maintaining the rights of his crown and kingdom; and his majesty’s answer to it was to the same effect as that to the house of lords: the same, or nearly the same words, relating to the treaties concluded by his majesty, and to the defence of his foreign dominions, were proposed to be inserted in this address, which was opposed by William Pitt, Esq. then paymaster of his majesty’s forces; the right hon. Henry Legge, Esq. then chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty’s exchequer, and one of the commissioners of the treasury; and by several other gentlemen in high posts under the government, as well as by many others; but, on putting the question, it was by a considerable majority agreed to insert the words objected to; and very soon after, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Legge, and most, if not all of the gentlemen who had appeared in the opposition, were dismissed from their employments: in the mean time, a draught came over from Russia for part of the new subsidy stipulated to that crown; but some of the ministry, who were then at the head of the finances, refused to pay it, at least before the treaty should be approved of by parliament.

33. Sir Thomas Robinson had not been long in possession of the office of secretary of state, before it was generally perceived, that, though an honest, well-meaning man, and a favorite with the king, his abilities were not equal to the functions of that post; much less were they so at this juncture, when the nation was on the point of being engaged in a difficult and expensive war, and plunged into foreign measures and connexions, which would require the utmost skill of an able politician to render them palatable to the people: Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, though they scarce ever agreed in any other particular, had generally united in opposing his measures; and their superior influence in the house of commons, and universally acknowledged abilities, though of very different kinds, had always prevailed, uncommon as it was to see two persons, who held considerable places under the government, one of them being paymaster-general, and the other secretary at war, oppose, on almost every occasion, a secretary of state who was supposed to know and speak the sentiments of his master: Sir Thomas himself soon grew sensible of his want of sufficient weight in the senate of the nation; and therefore, of his own accord, on the tenth of November, wisely and dutifully resigned the seals of his office to his majesty, who delivered them to Mr. Fox, and appointed Sir Thomas master of the wardrobe, with a pension to him during his life, and after his death to his sons: lord Barrington succeeded Mr. Fox as secretary at war; and soon after Sir George Lyttelton was made chancellor of the exchequer and a lord of the treasury, in the room of Mr. Legge, who had declared himself against the new continental system: however, notwithstanding these changes in the ministry, very warm debates arose in both houses, when the treaties of Russia and Hesse-Cassel came to be considered by them: some of the members were for referring them to a committee; but this motion was over-ruled, in consideration of his majesty's having engaged in them to guard against a storm that seemed ready to break on his electoral dominions, merely on account of our quarrel with the French: they were at length approved of by a majority of 318 against 126 in the house of commons, and by eighty-four against eleven in the house of lords.

34. The house of commons then proceeded to provide for the service of the ensuing year, and for the deficiencies of the provisions for the former: 50,000 seamen, including 9138 marines, were voted, on the twenty-fourth of Novem-

ber, for the service of the year 1756, together with £2,600,000 for their maintenance; and 34,263 land soldiers, with £930,603. 6s. 9d. for their support: £100,000 were voted as a subsidy to the empress of Russia; £54,140. 12s. 6d. to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and £10,000 to the elector of Bavaria.

35. During these transactions, the public was overwhelmed with consternation, by the tidings of a dreadful earthquake, which, on the first of November, shook all Spain and Portugal, and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Lisbon in ruins: when the news of this great calamity first reached England, it was feared the consequences of it might affect our public credit, considering the vast interest which the English merchants had in the Portuguese trade; but, fortunately, it afterwards proved inconsiderable, in comparison of what had been apprehended; the quarter in which the English chiefly lived, and where they had their warehouses, having suffered the least of any part of the city; and most of the English merchants then residing there, together with their families, being at their country-houses to avoid the insults to which they might have been exposed from the Portuguese populace, during the celebration of their *auto-da-fe*, which was kept that very day. The first two shocks of this dreadful visitation continued near a quarter of an hour, after which the water of the river Tagus rose perpendicularly above twenty feet, and subsided to its natural bed in less than a minute: great numbers of houses, of which this city then contained about 36,000, extending in length near six miles, in form of a crescent, on the ascent of a hill, on the north shore of the mouth of the river Tagus, within nine miles from the ocean, were thrown down by the repeated commotions of the earth, together with several magnificent churches, monasteries, and public buildings: but what intirely completed the ruin of this then most opulent capital of the Portuguese dominions, was a devouring conflagration, partly fortuitous or natural, but chiefly occasioned by a set of impious villains, who, unawed by the tremendous scene at that very instant passing before their eyes, with a wickedness scarcely to be credited, set fire even to the falling edifices in different parts of the city, to increase the general confusion, that they might have the better opportunity to rob and plunder their already desolated fellow-citizens: out of 350,000 inhabitants, which Lisbon was then supposed to contain, about 10,000 perished by this calamity;

and the survivors, deprived of their habitations, and destitute even of the necessaries of life, were forced to seek for shelter in the open fields.

36. As soon as his majesty received an account of this deplorable event from his ambassador at the court of Madrid, he sent a message to both houses of parliament, on the twenty-eighth of November, acquainting them therewith, and desiring their concurrence and assistance towards speedily relieving the unhappy sufferers; and the parliament thereon, to the honor of British humanity, unanimously voted, on the eighth of December, a gift of £100,000 for the distressed people of Portugal. A circumstance which enhances the merit of this action, is, that though the English themselves were, at that very time, in great want of grain, a considerable part of the sum was sent in corn, flour, rice, and a large quantity of beef from Ireland;—supplies, which came very seasonably for the poor Portuguese, who were in actual want of the necessaries of life. Their king was so affected by this instance of British generosity, that, to show his gratitude for the timely relief, he ordered Mr. Castres, the British resident at his court, to give the preference, in the distribution of these supplies, to the British subjects who had suffered by the earthquake; accordingly, about a thirtieth part of the provisions and £2000 in money were set apart for that purpose; and his Portuguese majesty returned his thanks, in very warm terms, to the British crown and nation.

37. The report of an intended invasion of these kingdoms by the French increasing daily, on the twenty-second of January, lord Barrington, as secretary at war, laid before the house an estimate for defraying the charge of ten new regiments of foot, over and above the 34,263 land soldiers before ordered to be raised; and a sum of £91,919. 10s. was voted for these additional forces: on another estimate, presented a little after by the same lord, and founded on the same reasons, for raising, for the farther defence of the kingdom, eleven troops of light dragoons, £49,628. 11s. 3d. were voted for the ensuing year, together with £81,178. 16s. for a regiment of foot to be raised in North-America; £298,534. 17s. 10½d. for the maintenance of our forces already established in our American colonies, and £79,915. 6s. for six regiments of foot from Ireland, to serve in North-America and the East-Indies. Besides all these supplies, Mr. Fox, on the twenty-eighth of January, presented to the house a message from the king, desiring them to take into

consideration the faithful services of the people of New England, and of some other parts of North-America; on which £115,000 more were voted, and £5000 as a reward to Sir William Johnson in particular: in short, including several other sums, as well for defraying the expense of the army and navy as for a subsidy of £20,000 to the king of Prussia, and £121,447. 2s. 6d. for Hanoverian troops, of which last two articles farther notice will be taken hereafter, the whole of the supplies granted by parliament in this session amounted to £7,229,117. 4s. 6½d.: for raising this sum, besides the malt-tax, and the land tax of four shillings in the pound, the whole produce of the sinking-fund, from the fifth of January, 1756, till it should amount to £1,555,955. 11s. 11½d. was ordered to be applied thereunto; together with £1,000,000 to be raised by loans or exchequer-bills, at three per cent. interest: £1,500,000 to be raised by the sale of redeemable annuities, at three and a half per cent., and £500,000 to be raised by a lottery, at three per cent: all which sums, with £83,412. 2s. 5½d., then remaining in the exchequer, amounted to £7,427,261. 5s. 7d.

38. The clause inserted in the mutiny-bill last year subjecting all officers and soldiers raised in America, by authority of the respective governors or governments there, to the same rules and articles of war, and the same penalties and punishments, as the British forces were liable to; the act passed at the same time for regulating the marine forces while on shore, and that for the more speedy and effectual manning of his majesty's navy, were not only confirmed now; but it was farther enacted, with respect to this last, as well as for the more speedy and effectual recruiting of his majesty's land forces, that the commissioners appointed by the present act should be empowered to raise and levy within their respective jurisdictions such able-bodied men as did not follow any lawful calling or employment, or had not some other lawful and sufficient support; and might order, wherever and whenever they pleased, a general search to be made for such persons, in order to their being brought before them to be examined; nay, that the parish or town officers might, without any such order, search for and secure such persons, in order to convey them before the said commissioners to be examined; that if any three commissioners should find any person, so brought before them, to be within the above description, and if the recruiting officer attending should judge him to be a man fit for his majesty's

service; they should cause him to be delivered to such officer, who might secure him in any place of safety provided by the justices of peace for that purpose, or even in any public prison; and that every such man was from that time to be deemed a listed soldier, and not to be taken out of his majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal matter. Nothing could more plainly show either the zeal of the parliament for a vigorous prosecution of the war, or their confidence in the justice and moderation of our ministry, than their agreeing to this act, which was to continue in force till the end of the next session; and which, in the hands of a wicked and enterprising administration, might have been made such a use of, as would have been inconsistent with that security which is provided by our happy constitution for the liberty of the subject.

39. The next object of the immediate attention of parliament in this session was the raising of a new regiment of foot in North-America; for which purpose the sum of £81,178. 16s., to which the estimate thereof amounted, was voted: this regiment, which was to consist of four battalions of 1000 men each, was intended to be raised chiefly out of the Germans and Swiss, who, for many years past, had annually transported themselves in great numbers to the British plantations in America, where waste lands had been assigned them on the frontiers of the provinces; but, very injudiciously, no care had been taken to intermix them with the English inhabitants of the place: to this circumstance it is owing that they have continued to correspond and converse only with one another; so that very few of them, even of those who have been born there, have yet learned to speak or understand the English tongue: however, as they were all zealous protestants, and in general strong hardy men, and accustomed to the climate, it was judged that a regiment of good and faithful soldiers might be raised out of them, particularly proper to oppose the French; but to this end it was necessary to appoint some officers, especially subalterns, who understood military discipline, and could speak the German language; and as a sufficient number of such could not be found among the English officers, it was necessary to bring over and grant commissions to several German and Swiss officers and engineers; but this step, by the act of settlement, could not be taken without the authority of parliament; an act was now passed for enabling his majesty to grant commissions to a certain number of foreign protestants, who had

served abroad as officers or engineers, to act and rank as officers or engineers in America only: an act was likewise passed in this session, strictly forbidding, under pain of death, any of his majesty's subjects to serve as officers under the French king, or to enlist as soldiers in his service, without his majesty's previous license; and also for obliging such of his majesty's subjects as should, in time to come, accept of commissions in the Scottish brigade in the Dutch service, to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, on pain of forfeiting £500.

40. As it had been resolved, in the beginning of the preceding summer, to build vessels of force on the lake Ontario, an act was now passed for extending the maritime laws of England, relating to the government of his majesty's ships and forces by sea, to such officers, seamen, and others, as should serve on board his majesty's ships or vessels employed on the lakes, great waters, or rivers in North-America; and also, but not without opposition to this last, for the better recruiting of his majesty's forces on the continent of America; to which end, by a new clause now added to a former act, a recruiting officer was empowered to enlist and detain an indented servant, even though his master should reclaim him, on paying to the master such a sum as two justices of peace within the precinct should adjudge to be a reasonable equivalent for the original purchase-money and the remaining time such servant might have to serve.

41. The intestine broils of Ireland were happily composed this year by the prudent management of the marquis of Hartington, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom: by his steady and disinterested conduct, his candor and humanity, the Irish were not only brought to much better temper, even among themselves, than they were before their late outrageous riots and dangerous dissensions happened; but also prevailed on to acquiesce in the measures of England, without this last being obliged to give up any one point of her superiority: the leading men in the parliament of Ireland were the first that conformed; and though the ferment continued very high, for some time after, among the middling and lower ranks of people, it was at length intirely allayed by the wisdom of the lord-lieutenant, and the excellent law, which he encouraged and passed for the benefit of that nation.³ The primate of Ireland, who had been very busy

³ Among other objects of the attention of the legislature of that country, £10,000 were granted for making the river Nore na-

in fomenting many of the late disturbances, was, by his majesty's command, struck off the list of privy-counsellors; and the greatest part of those patriots, whom faction had turned out of their employments there, were reinstated with honor.

42. The parliament of England, which had adjourned on the twenty-third of December, met again; the house of commons on the thirteenth of January, 1756, and the lords on the nineteenth: on the sixteenth of the same month, the treaty between his Britannic majesty and the king of Prussia was signed, importing, that, for the defence of their common country, Germany, and in order to preserve her peace and tranquillity, which it was feared was in danger of being disturbed on account of the disputes in America, the two kings, for that end only, entered into a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themselves not to suffer foreign troops of any nation whatsoever to enter into Germany, or pass through it during the troubles aforesaid, and the consequences that might result from them; but to oppose the same with their utmost might, in order to secure Germany from the calamities of war, maintain her fundamental laws and constitutions, and preserve her peace uninterrupted. Thus, the late treaty with Russia was virtually renounced. Their majesties, moreover, seized this favorable opportunity to adjust the differences that had subsisted between them, in relation to the remainder of the Silesia loan due to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, and the indemnification claimed by the subjects of his Prussian majesty for their losses by sea during the late war; so that the attachment laid on the said debt was agreed to be taken off as soon as the ratification of this treaty should be exchanged.

43. On the twenty-first of January the house took into consideration the laws then in being relating to the militia of this kingdom; and, finding them insufficient, ordered a new

vigable from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Innestalge; £20,000 towards carrying on an inland navigation from the city of Dublin to the river Shannon; £4000 for making the river Newry navigable; £1000 a year for two years, for the encouragement of English protestant schools; several sums, to be distributed in premiums, for the encouragement of the cambric, hempen, and flaxen manufactures; and £300,000 to his majesty, towards supporting the several branches of the establishment, and for defraying the expenses of the government for two years.

bill to be prepared and brought in, for the better regulating of the militia forces in the several counties of England: a bill was accordingly prepared to that effect, and presented to the house on the twelfth of March by the honorable Charles Townshend, Esq. who, to his honor, was one of the chief promoters of it: after receiving many amendments in the house of commons, it was on the tenth of May passed, and sent to the lords; but several objections being made to it by some of the peers, and it seeming to them that some farther amendments were still necessary, which they thought they could not in that session spare time to consider so maturely as the importance of the subject required, a negative of fifty-nine against twenty-three was put on the motion for passing the bill; though every one must have been sensible, not only of the propriety, but even of the absolute necessity of such a law, which was ardently desired by the whole nation.

44. On the twenty-seventh of May his majesty went to the house of peers, and, after having given the royal assent to the bills then depending, thanked his parliament, in a speech from the throne, for their vigorous and effectual support: he acquainted them, that the injuries and hostilities, which had been for some time committed by the French against his dominions and subjects, were then followed by the actual invasion of the island of Minorca, though guarantied to him by all the great powers in Europe, and particularly by the French king; that he had therefore found himself obliged, in vindication of the honor of his crown and of the rights of his people, to declare war in form against France; and that he relied on the divine protection, and the vigorous assistance of his faithful subjects, in so just a cause: the parliament was then adjourned to the eighteenth of June, and from thence afterwards to the eighteenth of July; and then it was prorogued.

CHAP. XXV.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1756.

1. Letter from M. Rouillé to the secretary of state—2. The two nations recriminate on each other—3. The French threaten Great Britain with an invasion—4. Requisition of 6000 Dutch troops according to treaty—5. Message from the king to the parliament—6. A body of Hessians and Hanoverians transported into England—7. French preparations at Toulon—8. Admiral Byng sails for the Mediterranean—9. He arrives at Gibraltar—10. Engages M. de la Galissonnière off Minorca,—11. and returns to Gibraltar—12. Ferment of the people at home—13. Admiral Byng superseded, and sent home prisoner—14. Account of the siege of St. Philip's fort, in Minorca—15. Precautions taken by general Blakeney—16. Siege commenced—17. English squadron appears—18. General attack of the works—19. The garrison capitulates—20. Sir Edward Hawke sails to Minorca—21. Rejoicings in France, and clamors in England—22. Gallantry of Fortunatus Wright—23. General Blakeney created a baron—24. Measures taken for the defence of Great Britain—25. Proclamation—26. Earl of Loudoun appointed commander in chief in America—27. His Britannic majesty's declaration of war—28. Substance of the French king's declaration—29. Address of the city of London—30. Trial of general Fowke—31. Affairs of America—32. Colonel Bradstreet defeats a body of French on the river Onondaga—33. Earl of Loudoun arrives at New York—34. Oswego reduced by the enemy—35. Farther proceedings in America—36. Naval operations in that country—37. Transactions in the East-Indies—38. Calcutta besieged by the viceroy of Bengal—39. Deplorable fate of those who perished in the dungeon there—40. Additional cruelties exercised on Mr. Holwell—41. Resolution against Angria—42. Fort of Geria taken by admiral Watson and Mr. Clive—43. Their subsequent proceedings in the river Ganges.

1. In the month of January, Mr. Fox, lately appointed secretary of state, received a letter from M. Rouillé, minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs to the king of France, expostulating, in the name of his sovereign, on the orders and instructions for committing hostilities, which his Britannic majesty had given to general Braddock and admiral Boscawen, in diametrical opposition to the most solemn assurances so often repeated by word of mouth as well as in writing: he complained of the insult which had

been offered to his master's flag in attacking and taking two of his ships in the open sea, without any previous declaration of war; as also by committing depredations on the commerce of his most christian majesty's subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, the faith of treaties, and the usages established among civilised nations: he said, the sentiments and character of his Britannic majesty gave the king his master room to expect that at his return to London he would disavow the conduct of his admiralty; but seeing that, instead of punishing, he rather encouraged those who had been guilty of such depredations, his most christian majesty would be deemed deficient in what he owed to his own glory, the dignity of his crown, and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer demanding a signal reparation for the outrage done to the French flag, and the damage sustained by his subjects: he therefore demanded immediate and full restitution of all the French ships, which, contrary to law and *décorum*, had been taken by the English navy, together with all the officers, soldiers, mariners, guns, stores, and merchandise: he declared, that should this restitution be made, he should be willing to engage in a negociation for what farther satisfaction he might claim, and continue desirous to see the differences relating to America determined by a solid and equitable accommodation; but if, contrary to all hopes, these demands should be rejected, he would consider such a denial of justice as the most authentic declaration of war, and as a formed design in the court of London to disturb the peace of Europe. To this peremptory remonstrance the British secretary was directed to answer, that though the king of England would readily consent to an equitable and solid accommodation, he would not comply with the demand of immediate and full restitution as a preliminary condition; for his majesty had taken no steps but such as were rendered just and indispensable by the hostilities which the French began in time of profound peace; and a proper regard for his own honor, the rights and possessions of his crown, and the security of his kingdoms.

2. Without all doubt the late transactions had afforded specious arguments for both nations to impeach the conduct of each other: the French court, conscious of their encroachments in Nova Scotia, affected to draw a shade over these, as particulars belonging to a disputed territory, and to divert the attention to the banks of the Ohio, where Jamon-

ville and his detachment had been attacked and massacred by the English without the least provocation: they likewise inveighed against the capture of their ships before any declaration of war, as flagrant acts of piracy; and some neutral powers of Europe seemed to consider them in the same point of view: it was certainly high time to check the insolence of the French by force of arms, and surely this might have been as effectually and expeditiously exerted under the usual sanction of a formal declaration, the omission of which exposed the administration to the censure of our neighbors, and fixed the imputation of fraud and freebooting on the beginning of the war: the ministry was said to have delayed the ceremony of denouncing war from political considerations, supposing that, should the French be provoked into the first declaration of this kind, the powers of Europe would consider his most christian majesty as the aggressor, and Great Britain would reap all the fruits of the defensive alliances in which she had engaged; but nothing could be more weak and frivolous than such a conjecture: the aggressor is he who first violates the peace; and every ally will interpret the aggression according to his own interest and convenience. The administration maintained the appearance of candor in the midst of their hostilities: the merchant ships, of which a great number had been taken from the French, were not sold and divided among the captors, according to the practice of war; but carefully sequestered, with all their cargoes and effects, in order to be restored to their right owners, in case the disputes between the two nations should not be productive of an open rupture: in this particular however it was pity that a little common sense had not been blended with their honorable intention: great part of the cargoes consisted of fish, and other perishable commodities, which were left to rot and putrefy, and afterwards thrown overboard, to prevent contagion; so that the owners and captors were equally disappointed, and the value of them lost to both nations.

3. The court of Versailles, while they presented remonstrances which they knew would prove ineffectual, and exclaimed against the conduct of Great Britain with all the arts of calumny and exaggeration at every court in christendom, continued nevertheless to make such preparations as denoted a design to prosecute the war with uncommon vigor: they began to repair and fortify Dunkirk; orders were published, that all British subjects should quit the dominions of

France; many English vessels were seized in the different ports of that kingdom, and their crews sent to prison: at the same time, an edict was issued, inviting the French subjects to equip privateers, offering a premium of forty livres for every gun, and as much for every man they should take from the enemy; and promising that, in case a peace should be speedily concluded, the king would purchase the privateers at prime cost: they employed great numbers of artificers and seamen in equipping a formidable squadron of ships at Brest; and assembling a strong body of land forces, as well as a considerable number of transports, threatened the island of Great Britain with a dangerous invasion.

4. The English people were seized with consternation: the ministry were alarmed and perplexed: colonel Yorke, the British resident at the Hague, was ordered by his majesty to make requisition of the 6000 men, whom the States-General are obliged by treaty to furnish when Great Britain shall be threatened with an invasion; and in February he presented a memorial for this purpose: M. d'Affry, the French king's minister at the Hague, having received intimation of his demand, produced a counter-memorial from his master, charging the English as the aggressors, and giving the States-General plainly to understand, that, should they grant the succors demanded by Great Britain, he would consider their compliance as an act of hostility against himself. The Dutch, though divided among themselves by faction, were unanimously averse to any measure that might involve them in the approaching war: their commerce was in a great measure decayed, and their finances were too much exhausted to admit of an immediate augmentation of their forces, which for many other reasons they strove to avoid: they foresaw a great increase of trade in their adhering to a punctual neutrality; they were afraid of the French by land, and jealous of the English by sea; and perhaps enjoyed the prospect of seeing these two proud and powerful nations humble and impoverish each other. Certain it is, the States-General protracted their answer to Mr. Yorke's memorial by such affected delays, that the court of London perceived their intention; and, in order to avoid the mortification of a flat denial, the king ordered his resident to acquaint the princess-regent, that he would not insist on this demand: the States, thus freed from their perplexity, at length delivered an answer to Mr. Yorke, in which they expatiated on the difficulties they were laid under, and thanked his Britannic majesty for

having freed them by his declaration from that embarrassment into which they were thrown by his first demand and the counter-memorial of the French minister: the real sentiments of those people, however, more plainly appeared in the previous resolution delivered to the states of Holland by the towns of Amsterdam, Dort, Haerlem, Gouda, Rotterdam, and Enckhuysen, declaring flatly that England was uncontrovertibly the aggressor in Europe, by seizing a considerable number of French vessels; that the threatened invasion of Great Britain did not affect the republic's guarantee of the protestant succession, inasmuch as it was only intended to obtain reparation for the injury sustained by the subjects of his most christian majesty; finally, that the succors demanded could be of no advantage to the king of England; as it appeared by the declaration of his most christian majesty, that their granting these succors would immediately lay them under a necessity of demanding in their turn assistance from Great Britain. From this way of arguing, the English may perceive what they have to expect in cases of emergency from the friendship of their nearest allies, who must always be furnished with the same excuse, whenever they find it convenient or necessary to their own interest: such a consideration, joined to other concurring motives, ought to induce the British legislature to withdraw its dependence from all foreign connexions, and provide such a constitutional force within itself, as will be fully sufficient to baffle all the efforts of an external enemy. The apprehensions and distraction of the people at this juncture plainly evinced the expediency of such a national force; but different parties were divided in their opinions about the nature of such a provision: some of the warmest friends of their country proposed a well-regulated militia, as an institution that would effectually answer the purpose of defending a wide extended sea-coast from invasion; while, on the other hand, this proposal was ridiculed and refuted as impracticable or useless by all the retainers to the court, and all the officers of the standing army: in the mean time, as the experiment could not be immediately tried, and the present juncture demanded some instant determination, recourse was had to a foreign remedy.

5. Towards the latter end of March, the king sent a written message to parliament, intimating, that he had received repeated advices from different persons and places, that a design had been formed by the French court to invade

Great Britain or Ireland; and the great preparations of forces, ships, artillery, and warlike stores, then notoriously making in the ports of France opposite to the British coasts, together with the language of the French ministers in some foreign courts, left little room to doubt the reality of such a design; that his majesty had augmented his forces both by sea and land, and taken proper measures and precautions for putting his kingdom in a posture of defence; that, in order farther to strengthen himself, he had made a requisition of a body of Hessian troops, pursuant to the late treaty, to be forthwith brought over, and for that purpose ordered transports to be prepared; that he doubted not of being enabled and supported by his parliament in taking such measures as might be conducive to an end so essential to the honor of his crown, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of these kingdoms. This message was no sooner received, than both houses voted, composed, and presented very warm and affectionate addresses, in which his majesty was thanked for the requisition he had made of the Hessian troops;—a measure, which at any other time would have been stigmatised with all the satire and rhetoric of the opposition.

6. Even this precaution was not thought sufficient to secure the island, and quiet the terrors of the people: in a few days, Mr. Fox, the new minister, encouraged by the unanimity which had appeared so conspicuous in the motions for the late addresses, ventured to move again, in the house of commons, that another address should be presented to the king, beseeching his majesty, that for the more effectual defence of this island, and for the better security of the religion and liberties of his subjects against the threatened attack by a foreign enemy, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery, to be forthwith brought into this kingdom: there was a considerable party in the house to whom such a motion was odious and detestable; but considering the critical situation of affairs, they were afraid that a direct opposition might expose them to a more odious suspicion; they therefore moved for the order of the day, and insisted on the question's being put on that motion; but it was carried in the negative by a considerable majority, which also agreed to the other proposal: the resolution of the house was communicated to the lords, who unanimously con-

curring ; and their joint address being presented, his majesty assured them he would immediately comply with their request : accordingly, such expedition was used, that in the course of the next month both Hanoverians and Hessians arrived in England, and encamped in different parts of the kingdom. As the fears of an invasion subsided in the minds of the people, their antipathy to these foreign auxiliaries emerged : they were beheld with the eyes of jealousy, suspicion, and disdain : they were treated with contempt, reserve, and rigor : the ministry was execrated for having reduced the nation to such a low circumstance of disgrace, as that they should owe their security to German mercenaries : there were not wanting some incendiaries, who circulated hints and insinuations, that the kingdom had been purposely left unprovided, and that the natives of South-Britain had been formerly subdued and expelled by a body of Saxon auxiliaries, whom they had hired for their preservation : in a word, the doubts and suspicions of a people naturally blunt and jealous were inflamed to such a degree of animosity, that nothing would have restrained them from violent acts of outrage, but the most orderly, modest, and inoffensive behavior, by which both the Hanoverians and Hessians were distinguished.

7. Under the cloak of an invading armament which engrossed the attention of the British nation, the French were actually employed in preparations for an expedition, which succeeded according to their wish. In the beginning of the year, advice was received that a French squadron would soon be in a condition to sail from Toulon : this was afterwards confirmed by repeated intelligence, not only from foreign gazettes, but also from English ministers and consuls residing in Spain and Italy : they affirmed that the Toulon squadron consisted of twelve or fifteen ships of the line, with a great number of transports ; that they were supplied with provision for two months only, consequently could not be intended for America ; and that strong bodies of troops were on their march from different parts of the French dominions to Dauphiny and Provence in order to be embarked. Notwithstanding these particulars of information, which plainly pointed out Minorca as the object of their expedition ; notwithstanding the extensive and important commerce carried on by the subjects of Great Britain in the Mediterranean ; no care was taken to send thither a squadron of ships capable to protect the trade, and frustrate the

designs of the enemy : that great province was left to a few inconsiderable ships and frigates, which could serve no other purpose than that of carrying intelligence from port to port, and enriching their commanders, by making prize of merchant vessels : nay, the ministry seemed to pay little or no regard to the remonstrance of general Blakeney, deputy-governor of Minorca, who in repeated advices represented the weakness of the garrison which he commanded in St. Philip's castle, the chief fortress on the island : far from strengthening the garrison with a proper reinforcement, they did not even send thither the officers belonging to it, who were in England on leave of absence ; nor give directions for any vessel to transport them, until the French armament was ready to make a descent on that island.⁴

⁴ It is with pleasure we seize this opportunity of recording an instance of gallantry and patriotism in a British officer, which would have done honor to the character of a Roman tribune. Captain Cunningham, an accomplished young gentleman, who acted as engineer in second at Minorca, being preferred to a majority at home, and recalled to his regiment by an express order, had repaired with his family to Nice in Italy, where he waited for the opportunity of a ship bound for England, when he received certain intelligence that the French armament was destined for the place he had quitted : his lady, whom he tenderly loved, was just delivered, and two of his children were dangerously ill of the small-pox : he recollected that the chief engineer of Minorca was infirm, and indeed disabled by the gout, and that many things were wanting for the defence of the fortress : his zeal for the honor and service of his country immediately triumphed over the calls of tenderness and of nature : he expended a considerable sum of money in purchasing timber for the platforms, and other necessities for the garrison ; hired a ship for transporting them thither ; and tearing himself from his wife and children, thus left among strangers in a foreign country, embarked again for Minorca, where he knew he should be in a peculiar manner exposed to all the dangers of a furious siege. In the course of this desperate service he acquitted himself with that vigilance, skill, and active courage, which he had on divers former occasions displayed, until the assault was given to the queen's bastion ; when mixing with the enemy sword in hand, he was disabled in his right arm by the shot of a musket and the thrust of a bayonet : his behavior was so acceptable to his sovereign, that when he returned to England he was preferred to the rank of colonel in the guards : he afterwards acted as chief engineer in the attempts and descents which were made on the French coast : though grievously maimed, he accepted the same office in the expedition to Guadaloupe, where he died universally regretted.

8. At length, the destination of the enemy's fleet being universally known, the ministry seemed to rouse from their lethargy, and like persons suddenly waking, acted with hurry and precipitation: instead of detaching a squadron that in all respects should be superior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and bestowing the command of it on an officer of approved courage and activity, they allotted no more than ten ships of the line for this service, vesting the command of them in admiral Byng, who had never met with any occasion to signalise his courage, and whose character was not very popular in the navy; but Mr. West, the second in command, was a gentleman universally respected for his probity, ability, and resolution. The ten ships destined for this expedition were but in very indifferent order, poorly manned, and unprovided with either hospital or fire-ship: they sailed from Spithead on the seventh of April, having on board, as part of their complement, a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, with major-general Stuart, lord Effingham, and colonel Cornwallis, whose regiments were in garrison at Minorca; about forty inferior officers, and near 100 recruits, as a reinforcement to St. Philip's fortress.

9. After all the intelligence which had been received, one would imagine the government of England was still ignorant of the enemy's force and destination; for the instructions delivered to admiral Byng imported, that, on his arrival at Gibraltar, he should inquire whether any French squadron had passed through the straits; and that, being certified in the affirmative, as it was probably designed for North-America, he should immediately detach rear-admiral West to Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton, with such a number of ships, as, when joined with those at Halifax, would constitute a force superior to the armament of the enemy. On the second of May, admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where he found captain Edgecumbe, with the *Princess Louisa* ship of war, and a sloop, who informed him that the French armament, commanded by M. de la Galissonnière, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, with a great number of transports, having on board a body of 15,000 land forces, had sailed from Toulon on the tenth of April, and made a descent on the island of Minorca, from whence he (captain Edgecumbe) had been obliged to retire at their approach: general Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, had received two successive orders from the secretary at war, with

respect to his sparing a battalion of troops to be transported by Mr. Byng, as a reinforcement to Minorca; but as the two orders appeared inconsistent or equivocal, a council of war was consulted, and the majority were of opinion that no troops should be sent from thence to Minorca, except a detachment to supply the deficiency in the little squadron of captain Edgecumbe, who had left a good number of his seamen and mariners under the command of captain Scroop, to assist in the defence of Fort St. Philip: these articles of intelligence the admiral despatched by an express to the lords of the admiralty, and in his letter made use of some impolitic expressions, which, in all probability, it would have been well for him had he omitted: he said, if he had been so happy as to have arrived at Mahon before the French had landed, he flattered himself he should have been able to prevent their getting a footing on that island: he complained that there were no magazines in Gibraltar for supplying the squadron with necessaries; that the careening-wharfs, pits, and store-houses were intirely decayed; so that he should find the greatest difficulty in cleaning the ships that were foul; and this was the case with some of those he carried out from England, as well as with those which had been for some time cruising in the Mediterranean: he signified his opinion, that, even if it should be found practicable, it would be very impolitic to throw any men into St. Philip's castle, which could not be saved without a land force sufficient to raise the siege; therefore a small reinforcement would only add so many men to the number which must fall into the hands of the enemy: he observed, that such engineers and artillery-men in Gibraltar as had been at Minorca, were of opinion, that it would be impossible to throw any number of men into St. Philip's, if the French had erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbor, so as to bar all passage up to the sally-port of the fortress; and with this opinion he signified the concurrence of his own sentiments. The first part of this letter was a downright impeachment of the ministry for having delayed the expedition, for having sent out ships unfit for service, and for having neglected the magazines and wharfs at Gibraltar: in the latter part he seemed to prepare them for the subsequent account of his misconduct and miscarriage: it cannot be supposed that they underwent this accusation without apprehension and resentment; and as they foresaw the loss of Minorca, which would not fail to

excite a national clamor, perhaps they now began to take measures for gratifying their resentment, and transferring the blame from themselves to the person who had presumed to hint a disapprobation of their conduct: for this purpose they could not have found a fairer opportunity than Mr. Byng's subsequent behavior afforded.

10. The admiral, being strengthened by Mr. Edgecumbe, and reinforced by a detachment from the garrison, set sail from Gibraltar on the eighth of May, and was joined off Majorca by his majesty's ship the Phoenix, under the command of captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence he had already received, touching the strength and destination of the French squadron: when he approached Minorca, he descried the British colors still flying at the castle of St. Philip, and several bomb batteries playing on it from different quarters where the French banners were displayed: thus informed, he detached three ships ahead, with captain Hervey, to reconnoitre the harbor's mouth, and land, if possible, a letter for general Blakeney, giving him to understand the fleet was come to his assistance: before this attempt could be made, the French fleet appearing to the south-east, and the wind blowing strong off shore, he recalled his ships, and formed the line of battle: about six o'clock in the evening, the enemy, to the number of seventeen ships, thirteen of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order; but about seven tacked, with a view to gain the weather-gage: Mr. Byng, in order to preserve that advantage, as well as to make sure of the land wind in the morning, followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape Mola. At daylight the enemy could not be descried; but two tartanes appearing close to the rear of the English squadron, they were immediately chased by signal: one escaped; and the other, being taken, was found to have on board two French captains, two lieutenants, and about 100 private soldiers, part of 600 who had been sent out in tartanes the preceding day, to reinforce the enemy's squadron: this soon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each side; and about two o'clock admiral Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind and engage: at this time his distance from the enemy was so great, that rear-admiral West, perceiving it to be impossible to comply with both orders, bore away with his division seven points from the wind; and closing down on the enemy, attacked them with such

impetuosity, that the ships which opposed him were in a little time driven out of the line : had he been properly sustained by the van, in all probability the British fleet would have obtained a complete victory ; but the other division did not bear down ; and the enemy's centre keeping that station, rear-admiral West could not pursue his advantage without running the risk of seeing his communication with the rest of the line intirely cut off. In the beginning of the action, the Intrepid, in Mr. Byng's division, was so disabled in her rigging, that she could not be managed, and drove on the ship that was next in position ; a circumstance, which obliged several others to throw all aback, in order to avoid confusion, and for some time retarded the action : certain it is, that Mr. Byng, though accommodated with a noble ship of ninety guns, made little or no use of his artillery, but kept aloof, either from an overstrained observance of discipline or timidity : when his captain exhorted him to bear down on the enemy, he very coolly replied, that he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spanish squadrons off Toulon, during the preceding war, had broken the line by his own precipitation, and exposed himself singly to a fire that he could not sustain : Mr. Byng, on the contrary, was determined against acting, except with the line intire ; and, on pretence of rectifying the disorder which had happened among some of the ships, hesitated so long, and kept at such a wary distance, that he never was properly engaged, though he received some few shots in his hull. M. de la Galissonnière seemed equally averse to the continuance of the battle : part of his squadron had been fairly obliged to quit the line ; and though he was rather superior to the English in number of men and weight of metal, he did not choose to abide the consequence of a closer fight with an enemy so expert in naval operation : he therefore took advantage of Mr. Byng's hesitation, and edged away with an easy sail to join his van, which had been discomfited : the English admiral gave chase ; but the French ships being clean, he could not come up and close them again ; so they retired at their leisure : then he put his squadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy ; and next morning they were altogether out of sight.

11. While he lay-to with the rest of his fleet, at the distance of ten leagues from Mahon, he detached cruisers to

look for some missing ships, which joined him accordingly; and made an inquiry into the condition of the squadron: the number of killed amounted to forty-two, including captain Andrews, of the *Defiance*, and about 168 were wounded: three of the capital ships were so damaged in their masts, that they could not keep the sea with any regard to their safety; a great number of the seamen were ill, and there was no vessel which could be converted into an hospital for the sick and wounded. In this situation Mr. Byng called a council of war, at which the land officers were present: he represented to them, that he was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men; that they had the advantage of sending their wounded to Minorca, from whence at the same time they were refreshed and reinforced occasionally; that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve St. Philip's fort; and therefore they ought to make the best of their way back to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protection: they unanimously concurred with his sentiments, and thither he directed his course accordingly. How he came to be so well acquainted with the impracticability of relieving general Blakeney, it is not easy to determine, as no experiment was made for that purpose: indeed, the neglect of such a trial seems to have been the least excusable part of his conduct; for it afterwards appeared that the officers and soldiers belonging to the garrison might have been landed at the sally-port without running any great risk; and a gentleman then in the fort actually passed and repassed in a boat, unhurt by any of the enemy's batteries.

12. Mr. Byng's letter to the admiralty, containing a detail of this action, is said to have arrived some days before it was made public; and when it appeared, was curtailed of divers expressions and whole paragraphs, which either tended to his own justification, or implied a censure on the conduct of his superiors: whatever use might have been made of this letter, while it remained a secret to the public, we shall not pretend to explain; but sure it is, that, on the sixteenth of June, Sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders sailed from Spithead to Gibraltar, to supersede the admirals Byng and West in their commands of the Mediterranean squadron; and Mr. Byng's letter was not published till the twenty-sixth of the same month, when it produced all the effect which that gentleman's bitterest enemies could have desired: the populace took fire like a train of the most hasty

combustibles, and broke out into such a clamor of rage and indignation against the devoted admiral, as could not have been exceeded if he had lost the whole navy of England, and left the coasts of the kingdom naked to invasion: this animosity was carefully fomented and maintained by artful emissaries, who mingled with all public assemblies, from the drawing-room at St. James's to the mob at Charing-cross: they expatiated on the insolence, the folly, the cowardice, and misconduct of the unhappy admiral: they even presumed to make their sovereign in some measure an instrument of their calumny, by suggesting, that his majesty had prognosticated Byng's misbehavior from the contents of his first letter, dated at Gibraltar: they ridiculed and refuted the reasons he had given for returning to that fortress, after his scandalous rencounter with the French squadron; and, in order to exasperate them to the most implacable resentment, they exaggerated the terrible consequences of losing Minorca, which must now be subdued through his treachery or want of resolution: in a word, he was devoted as the scapegoat of the ministry, to whose supine negligence, ignorance, and misconduct the loss of that important fortress was undoubtedly owing. Byng's miscarriage was thrown out like a barrel to the whale, in order to engage the attention of the people, that it might not be attracted by the real cause of the national misfortune: in order to keep up the flame which had been kindled against the admiral, recourse was had to the lowest artifices; agents were employed to vilify his person in all public places of vulgar resort, and mobs were hired at different parts of the capital to hang and burn him in effigy.

13. The two officers who succeeded to the command in the Mediterranean were accompanied by lord Tyrawley, whom his majesty had appointed to supersede general Fowke in the government of Gibraltar; that gentleman having incurred the displeasure of the ministry for not having understood an order which was unintelligible: by the same conveyance, a letter from the secretary to the admiralty was transmitted to Mr. Byng, giving him notice that he was recalled: to this intimation he replied in such a manner as denoted a consciousness of having done his duty, and a laudable desire to vindicate his own conduct: his answer contained a farther account of the engagement in which he was supposed to have misbehaved, intermixed with some puerile calculations of the enemy's superiority in weight of

metal, which served no other purpose than that of exposing his character still more to ridicule and abuse; and he was again so impolitic as to hazard certain expressions, which added fresh fuel to the resentment of his enemies. Directions were immediately despatched to Sir Edward Hawke, that Byng should be sent home in arrest, and an order to the same purport was lodged at every port in the kingdom; precautions, which, however unnecessary to secure the person of a man who longed ardently to justify his character by a public trial, were yet productive of considerable effect in augmenting the popular odium. Admiral Byng immediately embarked in the ship which had carried out his successor, and was accompanied by Mr. West, general Fowke, and several other officers of that garrison, who were also recalled, in consequence of having subscribed to the result of the council of war, which we have mentioned above: when they arrived in England, Mr. West met with such a gracious reception from his majesty as was thought due to his extraordinary merit; but Mr. Byng was committed close prisoner in an apartment of Greenwich-hospital.

14. In the mean time, the siege of St. Philip's fort in Minorca was prosecuted with unremitting vigor: the armament of Toulon, consisting of the fleet commanded by M. de la Galissonnière, and the troops under the duke de Richelieu, arrived on the eighteenth of April at the port of Ciudadella, on that part of the island opposite to Mahon, or St. Philip's, and immediately began to disembark their forces: two days before they reached the island, general Blakeney had, by a packet-boat, received certain intelligence of their approach, and began to make preparations for the defence of the castle: the fort which he commanded was very extensive, surrounded with numerous redoubts, ravelins, and other outworks; and provided with subterranean galleries, mines, and traverses, cut out of the solid rock with incredible labor: on the whole this was one of the best fortified places in Europe, well supplied with artillery, ammunition, and provision; and, without all doubt, might have sustained the most desperate siege, had it been defended by a numerous garrison, conducted by able engineers, under the eye and auspices of an active and skilful commander: all these advantages, however, did not concur on this occasion: the number of troops in Minorca did not exceed four regiments, whereas the nature of the works required at least double the number; and, even of these, above forty officers were absent: the chief engineer

was rendered lame by the gout, and the general himself oppressed with the infirmities of old age: the natives of the island might have been serviceable as pioneers, or day-laborers; but, from their hatred to the protestant religion, they were generally averse to the English government, although they had lived happily and grown wealthy under its influence.

15. The governor ordered his officers to beat up for volunteers in the adjacent town of St. Philip's; but few or none would enlist under his banners, and it seems he would not venture to compel them into the service: he recalled all his advanced parties; and, in particular, a company posted at Fornelles, where a small redoubt had been raised, and five companies at Ciudadella, a post fortified with two pieces of cannon, which were now withdrawn as soon as the enemy began to disembark their forces: at the same time, major Cunningham was detached with a party to break down the bridges, and break up the roads between that place and St. Philip's; but the task of destroying the roads could not be performed in such a hurry, on account of the hard rock which runs along the surface of the ground through this whole island; nor was there time to demolish the town of St. Philip's, which stood so near the fort, that the enemy could not fail to take advantage of its neighborhood: the streets served them for trenches, which otherwise could not have been dug through the solid rock: here they made a lodgement close to the works; here they found convenient barracks and quarters of refreshment, masks for their batteries, and an effectual cover for their mortars and bombardiers. The general has been blamed for leaving the town standing; but if we consider his uncertainty concerning the destination of the French armament; the odious nature of such a precaution, which could not fail to exasperate the inhabitants: and the impossibility of executing such a scheme after the first appearance of the enemy, he will be found excusable, if not altogether blameless: some houses and windmills were actually demolished, so as to clear the esplanade and the approaches: all the wine in the cellars of St. Philip's town was destroyed, and the butts were carried into the castle, where they might serve for gabions and traverses: five and twenty Minorquin bakers were hired, and a large number of cattle brought into the fort, for the benefit of the garrison: the ports were walled up, the posts assigned, the sentinels placed, and all the different guards appointed.

Commodore Edgecumbe, who then anchored in the harbor of Mahon close under the walls of the castle, sailed away with his little squadron, consisting of the *Chesterfield*, *Princess Louisa*, *Portland*, and *Dolphin*, after having left all his marines, a detachment from Gibraltar, the whole crew of the *Porcupine* sloop, and the greater part of the *Dolphin's*, as a reinforcement to the fort, under the immediate direction and command of captain Scroop, of the *Dolphin*, who with great gallantry offered himself for this severe duty, and bravely signalised himself during the whole siege. The French admiral might certainly have blocked up this harbor in such a manner as would have prevented the escape of these ships, and divers other rich merchant vessels, which happened then to be at Mahon; but, in all probability, they purposely allowed them to abandon the place, which, on any emergency or assault, their crews and officers would have considerably reinforced: the enemy were perfectly acquainted with the great extent of the works and the weakness of the garrison, from which circumstance they derived the most sanguine hopes that the place might be suddenly taken, without the trouble of a regular siege: after Mr. Edgecumbe had sailed for Gibraltar, and general Blakeney had ordered a sloop to be sunk in the channel that leads to the harbor, the French squadron made its appearance at this part of the island; but, without having attempted any thing against the fort, fell to leeward of Cape Mola: next day they came in sight again, but soon bore away, and never afterwards, during the whole course of the siege, approached so near as to give the garrison the least disturbance.

16. On the twenty-second of April, the governor sent a drummer to the French general with a letter, desiring to know his reasons for invading the island: to this an answer was returned by the duke de Richelieu, declaring he was come with intention to reduce the island under the dominion of his most christian majesty, by way of retaliation for the conduct of his master, who had seized and detained the ships belonging to the king of France and his subjects. If we may judge from the first operations of this nobleman, he was but indifferently provided with engineers; for, instead of beginning his approaches on the side of St. Philip's town, close by the outworks, where he might have been screened from the fire of the garrison, his batteries were erected at Cape Mola, on the other side of the harbor, where they were more exposed, their fire much less effectual, and indeed at

too great a distance to be of any service. The fire of St. Philip's was so severe, and the cannon so well served on this quarter, that in a little time the enemy thought proper to change their plan of attack, and advance on the side of St. Philip's town, which ought to have been the first object of their consideration, especially as they could find little or no earth to fill their gabions, and open their trenches in the usual form: on the twelfth of May, about nine at night, they opened two bomb batteries near the place where the windmills had been destroyed; and from that period an incessant fire was kept up on both sides from mortars and cannon; the French continuing to raise new batteries in every situation from whence they could annoy the besieged.

17. On the seventeenth of the month, the garrison were transported with joy at sight of the British squadron, commanded by admiral Byng; and Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, ventured to embark in a small boat, with six oars, which passed from St. Stephen's cove, a creek on the west side of the fortification, through a shower of cannon and musketry from the enemy's post on the other side, and actually reached the open sea, his design being to join the squadron; but this being at a great distance, stretching away to the southward, and Mr. Boyd perceiving himself chased by two of the enemy's light vessels, he returned by the same route to the garrison, without having sustained the least damage: a circumstance, which plainly confutes the notion of Mr. Byng, that it was impracticable to open a communication with the garrison of St. Philip: next day the hopes of the besieged, which had prognosticated a naval victory to the British squadron, a speedy relief to themselves, and no less than captivity to the assailants, were considerably damped by the appearance of the French fleet, which quietly returned to their station off the harbor of Mahon: the same evening they were told by a deserter that the English fleet had been worsted in an engagement by M. de la Galissonnière; and this information was soon confirmed by a general discharge, or *feu de joie*, through the whole French camp, to celebrate the victory they pretended to have obtained. How little soever they had reason to boast of any advantage in the action, the retreat of the English squadron was undoubtedly equivalent to a victory; for had Mr. Byng acquired and maintained the superiority at sea, the French forces, which had been disembarked in Minorca, would in all probability have been obliged to sur-

render prisoners of war to his Britannic majesty : the case was now much altered in their favor : their squadron cruised about the island without molestation ; and they daily received, by means of their transports, reinforcements of men and ammunition, as well as constant supplies of provisions.

18. The English garrison, however mortified at finding themselves thus abandoned, resolved to acquit themselves with gallantry in the defence of the place, not without some remaining hope that the English squadron would be reinforced, and return to their relief : in the mean time, they sustained and retorted the enemy's fire with undaunted resolution : they remounted cannon, the carriages of which had been disabled ; they removed them occasionally to places from whence it was judged they could do the greatest execution ; they repaired breaches, restored merlons, and labored with surprising alacrity, even when they were surrounded by the numerous batteries of the foe ; when their embrasures, and even the parapets, were demolished, and they stood exposed not only to the cannon and mortars, but also to the musketry, which fired on them without ceasing from the windows of the houses in the town of St. Philip. By this time, they were invested with an army of 20,000 men, and plied incessantly from sixty-two battering cannon, twenty-one mortars, and four howitzers, besides the small arms ; nevertheless, the loss of men within the fortress was very inconsiderable, the garrison being mostly secured in the subterranean works, which were impenetrable to shells or shot : by the twenty-seventh of June they had made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and damaged the other outworks to such a degree, that they determined this night to give a general assault : accordingly, between the hours of ten and eleven, they advanced to the attack from all quarters on the land side ; at the same time, a strong detachment in armed boats attempted to force the harbor, and penetrate into the creek called St. Stephen's Cove, to storm Fort Charles, and second the attack on Fort Marlborough, on the farther side of the creek, the most detached of all the outworks. The enemy advanced with great intrepidity ; and their commander, the duke de Richelieu, is said to have led them up to the works in person : such an assault could not but be attended with great slaughter : they were mowed down, as they approached, with grape-shot and musketry ; and several mines were sprung with great effect ; so that the glacis was

almost covered with the dying and the dead : nevertheless, they persevered with uncommon resolution ; and, though repulsed on every other side, at length made a lodgement in the queen's redoubt, which had been greatly damaged by their cannon : whether their success in this quarter was owing to the weakness of the place or to the timidity of the defender, certain it is, the enemy were in possession before it was known to the officers of the garrison ; for lieutenant-colonel Jeffries, the second in command, who had acquitted himself since the beginning of the siege with equal courage, skill, and activity, in his visitation of this post was suddenly surrounded and taken by a file of French grenadiers, at a time when he never dreamed they had made a lodgement : major Cunningham, who accompanied him, met with a severer fate, though he escaped captivity : he was run through the arm with a bayonet ; and the piece being discharged at the same time, shattered the bones of his hand in such a manner, that he was maimed for life : in this shocking condition he retired behind a traverse, and was carried home to his quarters. Thus the governor was deprived of his two principal assistants, one being taken and the other disabled.

19. The enemy having made themselves masters of Anstruther's and the queen's redoubts, from which perhaps they might have been dislodged had a vigorous effort been made for that purpose ; before they had leisure to secure themselves, the duke de Richelieu ordered a parley to be beat, in order to obtain permission to bury the dead and remove the wounded : this request was granted with more humanity than discretion ; inasmuch as the enemy took this opportunity to throw a reinforcement of men privately into the places where the lodgements had been made, and these penetrated into the gallery of the mines which communicated with all the other outworks. During this short cessation, general Blakeney summoned a council of war to deliberate on the state of the fort and garrison ; and the majority declared for a capitulation : the works were in many places ruined ; the body of the castle was shattered ; many guns were dismounted, the embrasures and parapets demolished, the palisados broken in pieces, the garrison exhausted with hard duty and incessant watching, and the enemy in possession of the subterranean communications : besides, the governor had received information from prisoners, that the duke de Richelieu was alarmed by a report that the marshal

duke de Belleisle would be sent to supersede him in the command, and for that reason would hazard another desperate assault, which it was the opinion of the majority the garrison could not sustain. These considerations, added to the despair of being relieved, induced him to demand a capitulation; but this measure was not taken with the unanimous consent of the council: some officers observed, that the garrison was very little diminished, and still in good spirits; that no breach was made in the body of the castle, nor a single cannon erected to batter in breach; that the loss of an outwork was never deemed a sufficient reason for surrendering such a fortress; that the counterscarp was not yet taken, nor, on account of the rocky soil, could be taken, except by assault, which would cost the enemy a greater number than they had lost in their late attempt; that they could not attack the ditch, or batter in breach, before the counterscarp should be taken, and even then they must have recourse to galleries before they could pass the fossé, which was furnished with mines and countermines: finally, they suggested, that in all probability the British squadron would be reinforced, and sail back to their relief; or, if it should not return, it was the duty of the governor to defend the place to extremity, without having any regard to the consequences. These remarks being over-ruled, the chamade was beat, a conference ensued, and very honorable conditions were granted to the garrison, in consideration of the gallant defence they had made: this it must be owned was vigorous while it lasted, as the French general was said to have lost 5000 men in the siege; whereas the loss of the garrison, which at first fell short of 3000 men, did not exceed 100. The capitulation imported, that the garrison should march out with all the honors of war, and be conveyed by sea to Gibraltar: the French were put in possession of one gate, as well as Fort Charles and Marlborough redoubt; but the English troops remained in the other works till the seventh of July, when they embarked: in the mean time reciprocal civilities passed between the commanders and officers of both nations.

20. The articles of capitulation were no sooner executed, than M. de la Galissonnière sailed back to Toulon, with all the prizes which had lain at anchor in the harbor of Mahon, since the fort of St. Philip was first invested: in all probability, the safety of himself and his whole squadron was owing to this expeditious retreat; for in a few days after the

surrender of the fort, Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, augmented by five ships of the line, which had been sent from England when the first tidings arrived of Minorca's being invaded, now made its appearance off the island; but by this time Galissonnière was retired, and the English admiral had the mortification to see the French colors flying on St. Philip's castle. What, perhaps, chagrined this gallant officer still more, he was not provided with frigates, sloops, and small craft to cruise round the island, and intercept the supplies which were daily sent to the enemy: had he reached Minorca sooner, he might have discomfited the French squadron; but he could not have raised the siege of St. Philip's, because the duke de Richelieu had received his reinforcements, and such a train of artillery, as no fortification could long withstand: indeed, if the garrison had been considerably reinforced, and the communication with it opened by sea, the defence would have been protracted, and so many vigorous sallies might have been made, that their assailants would have had cause to repent of their enterprise.

21. When the news of this conquest was brought to Versailles by the count of Egmont, whom the duke de Richelieu had despatched for that purpose, the people of France were transported with the most extravagant joy: nothing was seen but triumphs and processions; nothing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical encomiums on the conqueror of Minorca, who was celebrated in a thousand poems and studied orations; while the conduct of the English was vilified and ridiculed in ballads, farces, and pasquinades. Nothing more argues the degeneracy of a warlike nation than the pride of such mean triumph, for an advantage, which in more vigorous times would scarce have been distinguished by the ceremony of a *Te Deum Laudamus*: nor is this childish exultation, that disgraces the laurels of victory, confined to the kingdom of France: truth obliges us to own, that even the subjects of Great Britain are apt to be elevated by success into an illiberal insolence of self-applause and contemptuous comparison: this must be condemned as a proof of unmanly arrogance and absurd self-conceit, by all those who coolly reflect, that the events of war generally, if not always, depend on the genius or misconduct of one individual. The loss of Minorca was severely felt in England as a national disgrace; but, instead of producing dejection and despondence, it excited a universal

clamor of rage and resentment, not only against Mr. Byng, who had retreated from the French squadron, but also in reproach of the administration, which was taxed with having neglected the security of Minorca: nay, some politicians were inflamed into a suspicion, that this important place had been negatively betrayed into the hands of the enemy; that in case the arms of Great Britain should prosper in other parts of the world, the French king might have some sort of equivalent to restore for the conquests which should be abandoned at the peace: this notion, however, seems to have been conceived from prejudice and party, which now began to appear with the most acrimonious aspect, not only throughout the united kingdom in general, but even in the sovereign's councils.

22. Sir Edward Hawke, being disappointed in his hope of encountering La Galissonnière, and relieving the English garrison of St. Philip's, at least asserted the empire of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up the squadron in the harbor of Toulon: understanding that the Austrian government at Leghorn had detained an English privateer, and imprisoned the captain, on pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port, he detached two ships of war, to insist in a peremptory manner on the release of the ship, effects, crew, and captain; and they thought proper to comply with his demand, even without waiting for orders from the court of Vienna. The person in whose behalf the admiral thus interposed, was one Fortunatus Wright, a native of Liverpool; who, though a stranger to a sea-life, had in the last war equipped a privateer, and distinguished himself in such a manner by his uncommon vigilance and valor, that if he had been indulged with a command suitable to his genius, he would have deserved as honorable a place in the annals of the navy, as that which the French have bestowed on their boasted Guai Trouin, Du Bart, and Thurot: an uncommon exertion of spirit was the occasion of his being detained at this juncture: while he lay at anchor in the harbor of Leghorn, commander of the St. George privateer of Liverpool, a small ship of twelve guns and eighty men, a large French xebec, mounted with sixteen cannon, and nearly three times the number of his complement, chose her station in view of the harbor, in order to interrupt the British commerce: the gallant Wright could not endure this insult: notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in metal and

number of men, he weighed anchor, hoisted his sails, engaged him within sight of the shore; and, after a very obstinate dispute, in which the captain, lieutenant, and above threescore of the men belonging to the xebeque were killed on the spot, he obliged them to sheer off, and returned to the harbor in triumph. This brave corsair would, no doubt, have signalised himself by many other exploits, had he not, in the sequel, been overtaken in the midst of his career by a dreadful storm, in which the ship foundering, he and all his crew perished.

23. Sir Edward Hawke, having scoured the Mediterranean, and insulted the enemy's posts, returned with the homeward-bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence, about the latter end of the year, he set sail for England with part of his squadron, leaving the rest in that bay for the protection of our commerce, which in those parts soon began to suffer extremely from French privateers, that now swarmed in the Mediterranean. General Blakeney had arrived with the garrison of Minorca, at Portsmouth, in the month of November, and been received with expressions of tumultuous joy: every place through which he passed celebrated his return with bonfires, illuminations, bell-ringing, and acclamations; every mouth was opened in his praise, extolling him for the gallant defence he had made in the castle of St. Philip: in a word, the people's veneration for Blakeney increased in proportion to their abhorrence of Byng: the first was lifted into an idol of admiration, while the other sunk into an object of reproach; and they were viewed at different ends of a false perspective, through the medium of prejudice and passion; of a perspective artfully contrived, and applied by certain ministers for the purposes of self-interest and deceit. The sovereign is said to have been influenced by the prepossession of the subject: Mr. Blakeney met with a gracious reception from his majesty, who raised him to the rank of an Irish baron in consideration of his faithful services, while some malcontents murmured at this mark of favor as an unreasonable sacrifice to popular misapprehension.

24. In the beginning of the year, the measures taken by the government in England seem to have been chiefly dictated by the dread of an invasion, from which the ministers did not think themselves secured by the guard-ships and cruisers on different parts of the coast, or the standing army of the kingdom, though reinforced by the two bodies of

German auxiliaries: a considerable number of new troops was levied; the success in recruiting was not only promoted by the landholders throughout the kingdom, who thought their estates were at stake, and for that reason encouraged their dependents to engage in the service; but also in a great measure owing to a dearth of corn, which reduced the lower class of laborers to such distress, that some insurrections were raised, and many enlisted with a view to obtain a livelihood, which otherwise they could not earn: new ships of war were built, and daily put in commission; but it was found impracticable to man them, without having recourse to the odious and illegal practice of impressing sailors, which must always be a reproach to every free people: notwithstanding large bounties, granted by the government to volunteers, it was found necessary to lay an embargo on all shipping, and impress all the seamen that could be found, without any regard to former protections; so that all the merchant ships were stripped of their hands, and foreign commerce for some time wholly suspended: nay, the expedient of compelling men into the service was carried to an unusual degree of oppression; for rewards were publicly offered to those who should discover where any seamen lay concealed; so that those unhappy people were in some respects treated like felons, dragged from their families and connexions to confinement, mutilation, and death, and totally cut off from the enjoyment of that liberty, which, perhaps, at the expense of their lives, their own arms had helped to preserve, in favor of their ungrateful country.⁵

25. About eighty ships of the line and threescore frigates were already equipped, and considerable bodies of land forces assembled, when, on the third of February, a proclamation was issued, requiring all officers, civil and military, on the first appearance of any hostile attempt to land

⁵ At this juncture, a number of public-spirited merchants of the city of London, and others, formed themselves in a very laudable association, under the name of the Marine Society, and contributed considerable sums of money for equipping such orphans, friendless, and forlorn boys, as were willing to engage in the service of the navy: in consequence of this excellent plan, which was executed with equal zeal and discretion, many thousands were rescued from misery, and rendered useful members of that society, of which they must have been the baue and reproach without this humane interposition.

on the coasts of the kingdom, immediately to cause all horses, oxen or cattle, which might be fit for draught or burden, and not actually employed in the king's service, or in the defence of the country, and also, so far as might be practicable, all other cattle and provisions, to be driven and removed twenty miles at least from the place where such hostile attempt should be made; and to secure the same, so as that they might not fall into the hands or power of those who should make such attempt; regard being had, however, that the respective owners should suffer as little damage as might be consistent with the public safety.

26. As the ministry were determined to make their chief efforts against the enemy in North-America, where the first hostilities had been committed, and where the strongest impression could be made, a detachment of two regiments was sent thither, under the conduct of general Abercrombie, appointed as successor to general Shirley, whom they had recalled, as a person no ways qualified to conduct military operations: nor, indeed, could any success in war be expected from a man who had not been trained to arms, nor ever acted but in a civil capacity: but the command in chief of all the forces in America was conferred on the earl of Loudoun, a nobleman of an amiable character, who had already distinguished himself in the service of his country: over and above this command, he was now appointed governor of Virginia, and colonel of a royal American regiment, consisting of four battalions, to be raised in that country, and disciplined by officers of experience, invited from foreign service. Mr. Abercrombie set sail for America in March; but the earl of Loudoun, who directed in chief the plan of operations, and was vested with power and authority little inferior to those of a viceroy, did not embark till the latter end of May.

27. All these previous measures being taken, his majesty, in the course of the same month, thought proper to publish a declaration of war against the French king,⁶ importing

⁶ When the French ambassador returned to London, he proposed that orders should be immediately despatched to the English governors in America, with express orders to desist from any new undertaking, and all acts of hostility; but with regard to the lands on the Ohio, to put without delay matters on the same footing in which they stood before the late war, that the respective claims of both nations might be amicably referred to the commissaries at Paris: the British court agreed to the cessation of

that since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the usurpations and encroachments made on the British territories in America had been notorious; that his Britannic majesty had, in divers serious representations to the court of Versailles, complained of these repeated acts of violence, and demanded satisfaction; but notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the French king, that every thing should be settled agreeably to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuation of the four neutral islands in the West-Indies should be effected, the execution of these assurances, and of the treaties on which they were

hostilities, and the discussion of the disputes by the ministers of the two crowns, on condition that all the possessions in America should be previously put in the situation prescribed by the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle: the French ministry, instead of complying with this condition, produced an evasive draught of a preliminary convention, and this was answered by a counter-proposal: at length, the ambassador of France demanded, as preliminary conditions, that Great Britain would renounce all claim to the south coast of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes that discharge themselves into that river; cede to the French twenty leagues of country lying along the river of Fundy, which divides Acadia, or Nova Scotia; and all the land between the rivers Ohio and Ouabache. A memorial was afterwards presented on the same subject, including the affair of the neutral islands in the West-Indies; but this was amply refuted in another piece, in which the British ministry observed, that even at this very opening of the commission established at Paris, for terminating amicably the disputes in North-America, the French invaded Nova Scotia, erected three forts in the heart of that province, and would have destroyed the English settlement at Halifax had they not been prevented; that the like hostilities were committed on his Britannic majesty's subjects on the Ohio and Indian lakes, where the governors appointed by the French king, without any shadow of right, prohibited the English from trading, seized their traders by force, and sent them prisoners to France, invaded the territories of Virginia, attacked a fort that covered its frontier; and, to secure their usurpations, erected with an armed force a chain of forts on the lands which they had invaded; that his Britannic majesty had complained of these hostilities to the court of Versailles, but without effect, so that he found himself obliged to provide for the security of his subjects; and as the encroachments made by France were hostile, it could never be unlawful or irreconcilable with the assurance of his majesty's peaceable disposition, to repel an aggressor; and that the same motives of self-defence had forced him to seize the French ships and sailors, in order to deprive that court of the means of making an invasion, with which their ministers in all the courts of Europe had menaced England.

founded, had been evaded under the most frivolous pretences: that the unjustifiable practices of the French governors, and officers acting under their authority, were still continued, until they broke out in open acts of hostility in the year 1754; when, in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, without any previous notice given or application made, a body of French troops, commanded by an officer bearing the French king's commission, attacked in a hostile manner, and took possession of an English fort on the river Ohio, in North-America: that great naval armaments were prepared in the ports of France, and a considerable body of French troops embarked for that country: that although the French ambassador was sent back to England with specious professions of a desire to accommodate those differences, it appeared their real design was only to amuse and gain time for the passage of these supplies and reinforcements, which they hoped would secure the superiority of the French forces in America, and enable them to carry their ambitious and oppressive projects into execution: that in consequence of the just and necessary measures taken by the king of Great Britain for preventing the success of such a dangerous design, the French ambassador was immediately recalled from England, the fortifications of Dunkirk were enlarged, great bodies of troops marched down to the sea-coasts of France, and the British dominions threatened with an invasion: that though the king of England, in order to frustrate such intentions, had given orders for seizing at sea the ships of the French king and his subjects, yet he had hitherto contented himself with detaining those ships which had been taken, and preserving their cargoes entire, without proceeding to confiscation; but it being at last evident, from the hostile invasion of Minorca, that the court of Versailles was determined to reject all proposals of accommodation, and carry on the war with the utmost violence, his Britannic majesty could no longer, consistently with the honor of his crown and the welfare of his subjects, remain within those bounds, which from a desire of peace he had hitherto observed. A denunciation of war followed in the usual form, and was concluded with an assurance, that all the French subjects residing in Great Britain and Ireland, who should demean themselves dutifully to the government, might depend on its protection, and be safe in their persons and effects.

28. In the beginning of June the French king declared war

in his turn against his Britannic majesty, and his declaration was couched in terms of uncommon asperity: he artfully threw a shade over the beginning of hostilities in North-America, referring to a memorial which had been delivered to the several courts of Europe, containing a summary of those facts which related to the present war, and the negotiations by which it had been preceded: he insisted on the attack made by the king of England, in the year 1754, on the French possessions in North-America; and afterwards by the English navy on the navigation and commerce of the French subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, and direct violation of treaties: he complained that the French soldiers and sailors underwent the harshest treatment in the British isles, exceeding those bounds which are prescribed to the most rigorous rights of war, by the law of nature, and common humanity: he affirmed, that while the English ministry, under the appearance of sincerity, imposed on the French ambassador with false protestations, others diametrically opposite to these deceitful assurances of a speedy accommodation were actually carrying into execution in North-America: that while the court of London employed every caballing art, and squandered away the subsidies of England to instigate other powers against France, his most christian majesty did not even ask of these powers the succors which guarantees and defensive treaties authorised him to demand, but recommended to them such measures only as tended to their own peace and security: that while the English navy, by the most odious violences, and sometimes by the vilest artifices, made captures of French vessels, navigating in full security under the safeguard of public faith, his most christian majesty released an English frigate taken by a French squadron; and British vessels traded to the ports of France without molestation: that the striking contrast formed by these different methods of proceeding would convince all Europe, that one court was guided by motives of jealousy, ambition, and avarice; and that the conduct of the other was founded on principles of honor, justice, and moderation: that the vague imputations contained in the king of England's declaration had in reality no foundation; and the very manner in which they were set forth would prove their futility and falsehood: that the mention made of the works at Dunkirk, and the troops assembled on the coasts of the ocean, implied the most gross attempt to deceive mankind into a belief that these were the points which

determined the king of England to issue orders for seizing the French vessels ; whereas the works at Dunkirk were not begun till after two French ships of war had been taken by an English squadron, and depredations had been committed six months on the subjects of France before the first battalions began their march for the sea side : in a word, the most christian king, laying aside that politeness and decorum on which his people value themselves above all the nations on the face of the earth, very roundly taxes his brother monarch's administration with piracy, perfidy, inhumanity, and deceit. A charge, conveyed in such reproachful terms against one of the most respectable crowned heads in Europe, will appear the more extraordinary and injurious, if we consider that the accusers were well acquainted with the falsity of their own imputations, and at the same time conscious of having practised those very arts which they affected so much to decry : for after all, it must be allowed, that nothing could be justly urged against the English government, with respect to France, except the omission of a mere form, which other nations might interpret into an irregularity, but could not construe into perfidious dealing, as the French had previously violated the peace by their insolence and encroachments.

29. Whatever might have been the opinion of other nations, certain it is, the subjects of Great Britain heartily approved of the hostilities committed and intended against a people, whom they have always considered as their natural enemies, and the incendiaries of Europe : they cheerfully contributed to the expense of armaments,⁷ and seemed to approve of their destination, in hopes of being able to wipe off the disgraces they had sustained in the defeat of Braddock and the loss of Minorca. The last event made a deep impression on the minds of the community : an address was presented to the king by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, containing strong hints to the disadvantage of the ministry : they expressed their apprehension, that the loss of the important fortress of St. Philip and island of Minorca, possessions of the utmost consequence to the commerce and naval strength of Great Britain,

⁷ Immediately after the declaration of war, the French ships and cargoes which had been taken were tried, and condemned as legal prizes, exposed to public sale, and their produce lodged in the bank ; but in what manner this money, amounting to a large sum, was distributed or employed, we have not been able to discover.

without any attempt by timely and effectual succors to prevent or defeat an attack, after such early notice of the enemy's intentions, and when his majesty's navy was so evidently superior to theirs, would be an indelible reproach on the honor of the British nation: they expatiated on the imminent danger to which the British possessions in America were exposed, by the mismanagement and delays which had attended the defence of those invaluable colonies, the object of the present war, the principal source of the wealth and strength of these kingdoms: they lamented the want of a constitutional well-regulated militia, the most natural and certain defence against all invaders whatsoever: they signified their hope, that the authors of the late losses and disappointments would be detected and brought to condign punishment; that his majesty's known intentions of protecting and defending his subjects in their rights and possessions might be faithfully and vigorously carried into execution; and the large supplies, so necessarily demanded and so cheerfully granted, might be religiously applied to the defence of these kingdoms, their colonies, and their commerce, as well as to the annoyance of their inveterate and perfidious enemies; the only sure means of obtaining a lasting and honorable peace: in answer to this address, the king assured them that he would not fail to do justice on any persons who should have been wanting in their duty to him and their country; to enforce obedience and discipline in his fleets and armies; and to support the authority and respect due to his government. Remonstrances of the same kind were presented by different counties and corporations; and the populace clamored aloud for inquiry and justice.

30. The first victim offered to the enraged multitude was the unfortunate general Fowke, who had been deputy-governor of Gibraltar, and behaved with remarkable conduct and integrity in the exercise of that important office till that period when he fell under the displeasure of the government: he was now brought to trial before a board of general officers, and accused of having disobeyed the orders he had received from the secretary at war in three successive letters, touching the relief of Minorca.^a Mr. Fowke alleged in his

^a To lieutenant-general Fowke, or, in his absence, to the commander in his majesty's garrison of Gibraltar.

War-Office, March 21, 1756.

Sir,—I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's

own defence that the orders were confused and contradictory, and implied a discretionary power; that the whole number

pleasure that you receive into your garrison lord Robert Bertie's regiment, to do duty there; and in case you should apprehend that the French intend to make any attempt on his majesty's island of Minorca, it is his majesty's pleasure that you make a detachment out of the troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, to be commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major; such lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldest in your garrison, to be put on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, as the admiral shall think expedient, who is to carry them to the said island. I am, your humble servant, B.

To lieutenant-general Fowke, or in his absence, to the commander in chief at Gibraltar.

War-Office, March 26, 1756.

Sir,—I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's pleasure, in case the island of Minorca should be in any likelihood of being attacked, that you make a detachment from the troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major, for the relief of that place, to be put on board the fleet, at the disposition of the admiral; such lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldest in your garrison.

To lieutenant-general Fowke, or, in his absence, to the commander in chief in his majesty's garrison at Gibraltar.

War-Office, April 1, 1756.

Sir,—It is his majesty's pleasure, that you receive into your garrison the women and children belonging to lord Robert Bertie's regiment.

To lieutenant-general Fowke, or the commander in chief at Gibraltar.

War-Office, May 12, 1756.

Sir,—I wrote to you by General Steward: if that order is not complied with, then you are now to make a detachment of 700 men out of your own regiment and Guise's; and also another detachment out of Pulteney's and Panmure's regiments, and send them on board the fleet for the relief of Mahon: but if that order has been complied with, then you are to make only one detachment of 700 men, to be commanded by another lieutenant-colonel and major, and to send it to Mahon; and you are also to detain all such empty vessels as shall come into your harbor, and to keep them in readiness for any farther transportation of troops: I have also his royal highness the duke of Cumberland's commands, to desire that you will keep your garrison as alert as possible during this critical time, and give such other assistance as may be in your power for the relief of Minorca; taking care, however, not to fatigue or endanger your own garrison.

of his garrison did not exceed 2600 men, after he had spared 275 to the ships commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe; that the ordinary duty of the garrison requiring 800 men, the whole number was not sufficient for three reliefs; that, if he had detached a battalion on board the fleet, he should not have had above two reliefs, at a time when he believed the place was in danger of being attacked, for good reasons, which he did not think himself at liberty to mention; that his orders being doubtful, he held a council of war, which was of opinion, that as undoubted intelligence was received of the French army's being landed at Minorca, to the number of between 13,000 and 16,000 men, and that a French squadron of sixteen ships was stationed off the harbor, the sending a detachment equal to a battalion from Gibraltar would be an ineffectual supply for the relief of the place, and a weakening of the garrison from which they must be sent: he observed, that supposing the orders to have been positive, and 700 men detached to Minorca, the number remaining at Gibraltar would not have exceeded 1556; a deduction of 700 more, according to the order of May 12, would have left a remainder of 856; that the men daily on duty in the garrison, including artificers and laborers in the king's works, amounted to 839; so that if he had complied with the orders as they arrived, he would not have had more than seventeen men over and above the number necessary for the daily work of the garrison: thus the important fortress of Gibraltar must, at this critical conjuncture, have been almost left naked and defenceless to the attempts of the enemy; and had those detachments been actually sent abroad, it afterwards appeared that they could not have been landed on the island of Minorca. The order transmitted to general Fowke to detain all empty vessels for a farther transportation of troops seems to have been superfluous; for it can hardly be supposed he could have occasion for them, unless to embark the whole garrison and abandon the place: it seems likewise to have been unnecessary to exhort the general to keep the garrison as alert as possible during that critical time; inasmuch as it would have been impossible for the men to have enjoyed the least repose or intermission of duty, had the orders been punctually and literally obeyed: what other assistance it might have been in the governor's power to give for the relief of Minorca, or in what manner he could avoid fatiguing his garrison, while there was an impossibility of relieving the guards, it is not

easy to comprehend : be that as it may, when the trial was finished, and the question put to acquit or suspend for one year, the court was equally divided ; and in such cases the casting vote being vested in the president, he threw it into the scale against the prisoner, whom his majesty thought fit to dismiss from his service.

31. The expectation of the public was now eagerly turned towards America, the chief, if not the sole scene of our military operations : on the twenty-fifth of June, Mr. Abercrombie arrived at Albany, the frontier of New York, and assumed the command of the forces there assembled, consisting of two regiments which had served under Braddock, two battalions raised in America, two regiments now transported from England, four independent companies which had been many years maintained in New York, the New Jersey regiment, four companies levied in North-Carolina, and a body of provincial forces raised by the government of New England : those to the southward, including Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, had not yet determined on any regular plan of operation, and were moreover hard pressed in defending their western frontiers from the French and Indians, who in skulking parties made sudden irruptions on their unguarded settlements, burning, plundering, and massacring with the most savage inhumanity : as for South-Carolina, the proportion of negro-slaves to the number of white inhabitants was so great in that colony, that the government could not, with any regard to the safety of the province, spare any reinforcement for the general enterprise. The plan of this undertaking had been settled in the preceding year in a council of war, held at New York : there it was resolved to attack the fort of Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new fortresses on the Ohio : to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, so that the frontier of New York might be delivered from the danger of an invasion, and Great Britain become master of the lake Champlain, over which the forces might be transported in any future attempt : to besiege Fort Du Quesne on the Ohio ; and to detach a body of troops by the river Kennebec, to alarm the capital of Canada. This plan was too extensive for the number of troops which had been prepared ; the season was too far advanced before the regiments arrived from England ; the different colonies were divided in their

opinions; and Mr. Abercrombie postponed the execution of any important scheme till the arrival of lord Loudoun, who was daily expected; the reasons that delayed the reinforcement, and detained his lordship so long, we do not pretend to explain; though we may be allowed to observe, that many fair opportunities have been lost by the neglect and procrastination of an English ministry: certain it is, the unaccountable delay of this armament rendered it useless for a whole year; afforded time and leisure to the enemy to take their precautions against any subsequent attack, and in the mean time to proceed unmolested in distressing the British settlements: even before this period, they had attacked and reduced a small post in the country of the Five Nations, occupied by twenty-five Englishmen, who were cruelly butchered to a man, in the midst of those Indians whom Great Britain had long numbered among her allies.

32. Soon after this expedition, having received intelligence that a considerable convoy of provisions and stores for the garrison of Oswego would in a little time set out from Schenectady, and be conveyed in batteaux up the river Onondago, they formed an ambuscade among the woods and thickets on the north side of that river; but understanding the convoy had passed before they reached the place, they resolved to wait the return of the detachment: their design, however, was frustrated by the vigilance and valor of colonel Bradstreet, who expected such an attempt, and had taken his measures accordingly: on the third of July, while he stemmed the stream of the river, with his batteaux formed into three divisions, they were saluted with the Indian war-whoop, and a general discharge of musketry from the north shore: Bradstreet immediately ordered his men to land on the opposite bank, and with a few of the foremost took possession of a small island, where he was forthwith attacked by a party of the enemy, who had forded the river for that purpose; but these were soon repulsed: another body having passed a mile higher, he advanced to them at the head of 200 men, and fell on them, sword in hand, with such vigor, that many were killed on the spot, and the rest driven into the river with such precipitation, that a considerable number of them were drowned: having received information that a third body of them had passed at a ford still higher, he marched thither without hesitation, and pursued them to the other side, where they were intirely routed and dispersed: in this action, which lasted near three

hours, about seventy of the batteau men were killed or wounded, but the enemy lost double the number killed, and above seventy taken prisoners: in all probability the whole detachment of the French, amounting to 700 men, would have been cut off, had not a heavy rain interposed, and disabled colonel Bradstreet from following his blow; for that same night he was joined by captain Patten with his grenadiers, in his march from Oneida to Oswego, and next morning reinforced with 200 men, detached to his assistance from the garrison of Oswego; but by this time the rivulets were so swelled by the rain, that it was found impracticable to pursue the enemy through the woods and thickets: Patten and his grenadiers accompanied the detachment to Oswego, while Bradstreet pursued his voyage to Schenectady, from whence he repaired to Albany, and communicated to general Abercrombie the intelligence he had received from the prisoners, that a large body of the enemy were encamped on the eastern side of the lake Ontario, provided with artillery, and all other implements to besiege the fort of Oswego.

33. In consequence of this information, major-general Webb was ordered to hold himself in readiness to march with one regiment to the relief of that garrison; but before they could be provided with necessaries, the earl of Loudoun arrived at the head-quarters at Albany on the twenty-ninth of July: the army at this time is said to have consisted of regular troops to the number of 2600; about 7000 provincials, supposed to be in readiness to march from Fort William Henry, under the command of general Winslow; over and above a considerable number of batteau men at Albany and Schenectady: the garrison at Oswego amounted to 1400 soldiers, besides 300 workmen and sailors, either in the fort, or posted in small parties between the fort and the place called Burnet's field, to secure a passage through the country of the Six Nations, on whose friendship there was no longer any reliance. By the best accounts received of the enemy's force, they had about 3000 men at Crown-Point and Ticonderoga on the lake Champlain; but their chief strength was collected on the banks of the lake Ontario, where their purpose undoubtedly was to reduce the English fort at Oswego: the immediate object, therefore, of lord Loudoun's attention was the relief of this place; but his design was strenuously opposed by the province of New York and other northern governments, who were much more

intent on the reduction of Crown-Point, and the security of their own frontiers, which they apprehended was connected with this conquest: they insisted on Winslow's being joined by some regiments of regular troops before he should march against this fortress; and stipulated that a body of reserve should be detained at Albany, for the defence of that frontier, in case Winslow should fail in his enterprise, and be defeated: at length they agreed that the regiment which Mr. Abercrombie had destined for that purpose should be detached for the relief of Oswego; and on the twelfth of August major-general Webb began his march with it from Albany; but on his arrival at the carrying-place, between the Mohawk river and Wood's creek, he received the disagreeable news that Oswego was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. Mr. Webb, apprehending himself in danger of being attacked by the besieging army, began immediately to render the creek impassable even to canoes, by felling trees, and throwing them into the stream; while the enemy, ignorant of his numbers, and apprehensive of a like visitation from him, took the very same method of preventing his approach: in consequence of this apprehension, he was permitted to retire unmolested.

34. The loss of the two small forts, called Ontario and Oswego, was a considerable national misfortune: they were erected on the south side of the great lake Ontario, standing on the opposite sides, at the mouth of the Onondago river, that discharges itself into the lake; and constituted a post of great importance, where vessels had been built to cruise on the lake, which is a kind of inland sea, and interrupt the commerce as well as the motions and designs of the enemy: the garrison, as we have already observed, consisted of 1400 men, chiefly militia and new-raised recruits, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Mercer, an officer of courage and experience: but the situation of the forts was very ill chosen; the materials mostly timber or logs of wood; the defences wretchedly contrived and unfinished; and, in a word, the place altogether untenable against any regular approach. Such were the forts which the enemy wisely resolved to reduce: being under no apprehension for Crown-Point, they assembled a body of troops, consisting of 1300 regulars, 1700 Canadians, and a considerable number of Indian auxiliaries, under the command of the marquis de Montcalm, a vigilant and enterprising officer, to whom the conduct of the siege was entrusted by the marquis de

Vaudreuil, governor and lieutenant-general of New France. The first step taken by Montcalm was to block up Oswego by water with two large armed vessels, and post a strong body of Canadians on the road between Albany and the forts, to cut off all communication of succor and intelligence: in the mean time, he embarked his artillery and stores on the lake, and landed them in the bay of Nixouri, the place of general rendezvous: at another creek, within half a league of Oswego, he erected a battery for the protection of his vessels; and on the twelfth of August, at midnight, after his dispositions had been made, he opened the trenches before Fort Ontario. The garrison, having fired away all their shells and ammunition, spiked up the cannon; and deserting the fort, retired next day across the river into Oswego, which was even more exposed than the other, especially when the enemy had taken possession of Ontario, from whence they immediately began to fire without intermission: colonel Mercer being, on the thirteenth, killed by a cannon ball, the fort destitute of all cover, the officers divided in opinion, and the garrison in confusion, they next day demanded a capitulation, and surrendered prisoners of war, on condition that they should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity: these conditions, however, the marquis did not punctually observe: the British officers and soldiers were insulted by the savage Indians, who robbed them of their clothes and baggage, massacred several men as they stood defenceless on the parade, assassinated lieutenant de la Court, as he lay wounded in his tent, under the protection of a French officer, and barbarously scalped all the sick people in the hospital: finally, Montcalm, in direct violation of the articles, as well as in contempt of common humanity, delivered up above twenty men of the garrison to the Indians, in lieu of the same number they had lost during the siege; and, in all probability, these miserable captives were put to death by those barbarians with the most excruciating tortures, according to the execrable custom of the country. Those who countenance the perpetration of cruelties, at which human nature shudders with horror, ought to be branded as infamous to all posterity: such, however, were the trophies that, in the course of the American war, distinguished the operations of a people who pique themselves on politeness and the virtues of humanity: the prisoners taken at Oswego, after having been thus barbarously treated, were conveyed in batteaux to Montreal, where they

had no reason to complain of their reception ; and before the end of the year they were exchanged. The victors immediately demolished the two forts, if they deserved that denomination, in which they found 121 pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and provision, besides two sloops and 200 batteaux, which likewise fell into their hands : such an important magazine, deposited in a place altogether indefensible, and without the reach of immediate succor, was a flagrant proof of egregious folly, temerity, and misconduct.

35. The earl of Loudoun, finding the season too far advanced to admit of any enterprise against the enemy, exerted all his endeavors in making preparations for an early campaign in the spring, securing the frontiers of the English colonies, in forming a uniform plan of action, and promoting a spirit of harmony among the different governments, which had been long divided by jarring interests and other sources of dissension : meanwhile, the forts Edward and William Henry were put in a proper posture of defence, and secured with numerous garrisons ; and the forces put into winter-quarters at Albany, where comfortable barracks were built for that purpose. Fort Granvilla, on the confines of Pennsylvania, an inconsiderable blockhouse, was surprised by a party of French and Indians, who made the garrison prisoners, consisting of two and twenty soldiers, with a few women and children : these they loaded with flour and provision, and drove them into captivity ; but the fort they reduced to ashes : many shocking murders were perpetrated on defenceless people, without distinction of age or sex, in different parts of the frontiers ; but these outrages were in some measure balanced by the advantages resulting from a treaty of peace, which the governor of Pennsylvania concluded with the Delaware Indians, a powerful tribe that dwell on the river Susquehanna, forming, as it were, a line along the southern skirts of the province : at the same time, the governor of Virginia secured the friendship and alliance of the Cherokees and Catawbias, two powerful nations adjoining to that colony, who were able to bring 3000 fighting men into the field. All these circumstances considered, Great Britain had reason to expect that the ensuing campaign would be vigorously prosecuted in America ; especially as a fresh reinforcement of troops, with a great supply of warlike stores, were sent to that country in fourteen trans-

ports, under convoy of two ships of war, which sailed from Cork about the beginning of November.

36. No action of great importance distinguished the naval transactions of this year on the side of America: in the beginning of June, captain Spry, who commanded a small squadron, cruising off Louisburg, in the island of Cape Breton, took the *Arc en Ciel*, a French ship of fifty guns, having on board near 600 men, with a large quantity of stores and provisions for the garrison: he likewise made prize of another French ship, with seventy soldiers, 200 barrels of powder, two large brass mortars, and other stores of the like destination. On the twenty-seventh of July, commodore Holmes, being in the same latitude with two large ships and a couple of sloops, engaged two French ships of the line and four frigates, and obliged them to sheer off, after an obstinate dispute: a great number of privateers were equipped in this country, as well as in the West-India islands belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and as those seas swarmed with French vessels, their cruises proved very advantageous to the adventurers.

37. Scenes of higher import were this year acted by the British arms in the East-Indies: the cessation of hostilities between the English and French companies on the peninsula of Indus, though it encouraged Mr. Clive to visit his native country, was not of long duration; for in a few months both sides recommenced their operations, no longer as auxiliaries to the princes of the country, but as principals and rivals both in arms and commerce. Major Laurence, who now enjoyed the chief command of the English force, obtained divers advantages over the enemy; and prosecuted his success with such vigor, as in all probability would in a little time have terminated the war according to his own wish; when the progress of his arms was interrupted and suspended by an unfortunate event at Calcutta, the cause of which is not easily explained; for extraordinary pains have been taken to throw a veil over some transactions, from whence this calamity was immediately or remotely derived.

38. The old suba or viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, dying in the month of April, 1756, was succeeded by his adopted son, Sur Raja al Dowlat, a young man of violent passions, without principle, fortitude, or good faith, who began his administration with acts of perfidy and violence: in all probability, his design against the English settlements

was suggested by his rapacious disposition, on a belief that they abounded with treasure; as the pretences which he used for commencing hostilities were altogether inconsistent, false, and frivolous: in the month of May, he caused the English factory at Cassimbuzzar to be invested; and inviting Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, to a conference, under the sanction of a safe conduct, detained him as prisoner; then, by means of fraud and force intermingled, made himself master of the factory: this exploit being achieved, he made no secret of his design to deprive the English of all their settlements: with this view he marched to Calcutta, at the head of a numerous army, and invested the place, which was then in no posture of defence.

39. The governor, intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort, and with some principal persons residing in the settlement, took refuge on board a ship in the river, carrying along with them their most valuable effects and the books of the company: thus the defence of the place devolved to Mr. Holwell, the second in command, who, with the assistance of a few gallant officers and a very feeble garrison, maintained it with uncommon courage and resolution against several attacks, until he was overpowered by numbers, and the enemy had forced their way into the castle: then he was obliged to submit; and the suba, or viceroy, promised, on the word of a soldier, that no injury should be done to him or his garrison: nevertheless, they were all driven, to the number of 146 persons of both sexes, into a place called the Black-hole prison, a cube of about eighteen feet, walled up to the eastward and southward, the only quarters from which they could expect the least refreshing air; and open to the westward by two windows strongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation. The humane reader will conceive with horror the miserable situation to which they must have been reduced, when thus stewed up in a close sultry night under such a climate as that of Bengal, especially when he reflects that many of them were wounded, and all of them fatigued with hard duty: transported with rage to find themselves thus barbarously cooped up in a place where they must be exposed to suffocation, those hapless victims endeavored to force open the door, that they might rush on the swords of the barbarians by whom they were surrounded; but all their efforts were ineffectual; the door was made to open inwards; and being once shut on them, the crowd

pressed on it so strongly as to render all their endeavors abortive: then they were overwhelmed with distraction and despair. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself at one of the windows, accosted a jemmutdaar, or sergeant of the Indian guard; and, having endeavored to excite his compassion by drawing a pathetic picture of their sufferings, promised to gratify him with 1000 rupees in the morning, if he could find means to remove one half of them into a separate apartment: the soldier, allured by the promise of such a reward, assured him he would do his endeavor for their relief, and retired for that purpose; but in a few minutes returned, and told him that the suba, by whose order alone such a step could be taken, was asleep, and no person durst disturb his repose: by this time a profuse sweat had broken out on every individual; and this was attended with an insatiable thirst, which became the more intolerable as the body was drained of its moisture: in vain those miserable objects stripped themselves of their clothes, squatted down on their hams, and fanned the air with their hats, to produce a refreshing undulation: many were unable to rise again from this posture, but falling down were trod to death, or suffocated: the dreadful symptom of thirst was now accompanied with a difficulty of respiration, and every individual gasped for breath: their despair became outrageous; again they attempted to force the door, and provoke the guard to fire on them by execration and abuse: the cry of 'Water! water!' issued from every mouth: even the jemmutdaar was moved to compassion at their distress: he ordered his soldiers to bring some skins of water, which served only to enrage the appetite, and increase the general agitation: there was no other way of conveying it through the windows but by hats; and this was rendered ineffectual by the eagerness and transports of the wretched prisoners, who at sight of it struggled and raved even in fits of delirium: in consequence of these contests, very little reached those who stood nearest the windows; while the rest, at the farther end of the prison, were totally excluded from all relief, and continued calling on their friends for assistance, and conjuring them by all the tender ties of pity and affection: to those who were indulged it proved pernicious; for, instead of allaying their thirst, it enraged their impatience for more: the confusion became general and horrid; all was clamor and contest: those who were at a distance endeavored to force their passage to the window,

and the weak were pressed down to the ground, never to rise again: the inhuman ruffians without derived entertainment from their misery: they supplied the prisoners with more water, and held up lights close to the bars that they might enjoy the inhuman pleasure of seeing them fight for the baneful indulgence. Mr. Holwell, seeing all his particular friends lying dead around him and trampled on by the living, finding himself wedged up so close as to be deprived of all motion, begged, as the last instance of their regard, that they would remove the pressure, and allow him to retire from the window, that he might die in quiet: even in those dreadful circumstances, which might be supposed to have levelled all distinction, the poor delirious wretches manifested a respect for his rank and character: they forthwith gave way, and he forced his passage into the centre of the place, which was not crowded so much, because by this time about one-third of the number had perished, and lay in little compass on the floor, while the rest still crowded to both windows: he retired to a platform at the farther end of the room, and laying down on some of his dead friends, recommended his soul to Heaven: here his thirst grew insupportable; his difficulty in breathing increased; and he was seized with a strong palpitation: these violent symptoms, which he could not bear, urged him to make another effort: he forced his way back to the window, and cried aloud, 'Water, for God's sake!' He had been supposed already dead by his wretched companions; but finding him still alive, they exhibited another extraordinary proof of tenderness and regard to his person: 'Give him water,' they cried; nor would any of them attempt to touch it until he had drunk: he now breathed more freely, and the palpitation ceased; but finding himself still more thirsty after drinking, he abstained from water, and moistened his mouth from time to time by sucking the perspiration from his shirt sleeve.⁹ The miserable prisoners, perceiving the water rather aggravated than relieved their distress, grew clamorous for air, and repeated their insults to the guard, loading the suba and his governor with the most virulent reproach: from railing, they had recourse to prayer, beseeching Heaven to

⁹ In his despair of obtaining water, this unhappy gentleman had attempted to drink his own urine, but found it intolerably bitter; whereas the moisture that flowed from the pores of his body was soft, pleasant, and refreshing.

put an end to their misery : they now began to drop on all hands ; but then a steam arose from the living and the dead, as pungent and volatile as spirits of hartshorn ; so that all who could not approach the windows were suffocated. Mr. Holwell, being weary of life, retired once more to the platform, and stretched himself by the Rev. Mr. Jervis Bellamy, who, together with his son, a lieutenant, lay dead in each other's embrace : in this situation he was soon deprived of sense, and lay to all appearance dead till day broke ; when his body was discovered, and removed by his surviving friends to one of the windows, where the fresh air revived him, and he was restored to his sight and senses. The suba, at last, being informed that the greater part of the prisoners were suffocated, inquired if the chief was alive ; and being answered in the affirmative, sent an order for their immediate release, when no more than twenty-three survived of 146 who had entered alive.

40. Nor was the late deliverance even of these few owing to any sentiment of compassion in the viceroy : he had received intimation, that there was a considerable treasure secreted in the fort, and that Mr. Holwell knew the place where it was deposited : that gentleman, who, with his surviving companions, had been seized with a putrid fever immediately on their release, was dragged in that condition before the inhuman suba, who questioned him about the treasure, which existed no where but in his own imagination ; and would give no credit to his protestations, when he solemnly declared he knew of no such deposit : Mr. Holwell and three of his friends were loaded with fetters, and conveyed three miles from the Indian camp, where they lay all night exposed to a severe rain : next morning they were brought back to town, still manacled, under the scorching beams of a sun intensely hot ; and must infallibly have expired, had not nature expelled the fever in large painful boils, that covered almost the whole body : in this piteous condition they were embarked in an open boat for Muxadavad, the capital of Bengal, and underwent such cruel treatment and misery in their passage, as would shock the humane reader should he peruse the particulars : at Muxadavad they were led through the city in chains, as a spectacle to the inhabitants, lodged in an open stable, and treated for some days as the worst of criminals : at length, the suba's grandmother interposed her mediation in their behalf ; and as that prince was by this time convinced that

there was no treasure concealed at Calcutta, he ordered them to be set at liberty: when some of his sycophants opposed the indulgence, representing that Mr. Holwell had still enough left to pay a considerable ransom, he replied, with some marks of compunction and generosity, 'If he has any thing left, let him keep it: his sufferings have been great: he shall have his liberty.' Mr. Holwell and his friends were no sooner unfettered, than they took water for the Dutch tanksall or mint, in the neighborhood of that city, where they were received with great tenderness and humanity. The reader we hope, will excuse us for having thus particularised a transaction so interesting and extraordinary in all its circumstances. The suba, having destroyed Calcutta and dispersed the inhabitants, extorted large sums from the French and Dutch factories, that he might display a spirit of impartiality against all the Europeans even in his oppression, and returned to his city of Muxadavad in triumph: by the reduction of Calcutta, the English East-India company's affairs were so much embroiled in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them but the interposition of a national force, and the good fortune of a Clive, whose enterprises were always crowned with success.

41. As the English East-India company had, for a whole century, been at a considerable expense in maintaining a marine force at Bombay, to protect their ships from the piracies of the Angrias, who had rendered themselves independent princes, and fortified Geriah in that neighborhood; many unsuccessful attempts had been made to destroy their naval power, and reduce the fortress, under which they always took shelter: in the year 1754, the fleet of Tullagee Angria, the reigning prince, attacked three Dutch ships of force, which they either took or destroyed: elated with this success, he boasted that he should in a little time sweep the seas of the Europeans, and began to build some large ships, to reinforce his grabs and gallivats, which were the vessels on which he had formerly depended. Next year, his neighbors, the Mahrattas, having signified to the presidency at Bombay that they were disposed to join in the necessary service of humbling this common enemy so formidable to the whole Malabar coast, commodore James was detached with some ships of force to attack Angria, in conjunction with those allies: they accordingly joined him with seven grabs and sixty gallivats: they proceeded to the harbor of

Severndroog, where Angria's fleet lay at anchor; but they no sooner received intelligence of his approach, than they slipped their cables, and stood out to sea: he chased them with all the canvass he could carry; but their vessels being lighter than his, they escaped; and he returned to Severndroog, which is a fortress situated on an island within musket-shot of the main land, strongly but irregularly fortified, and mounted with fifty-four pieces of cannon: there were three other small forts on the continent, the largest of which was called Goa. On the second of April, the commodore began to batter and bombard the island, fort, and Fort Goa, at the same time: that of Severndroog was set on fire; one of the magazines blew up; a general conflagration ensued; the garrison were overwhelmed with fire and confusion: the English seamen landed under cover of the fire from the ships, and took the place by storm with very little loss: the other forts were immediately surrendered, and all of these, by treaty, delivered to the Mahrattas. On the eighth of April the commodore anchored off Bancote, now called Fort Victoria, one of the most northern parts of Angria's dominion, which surrendered without opposition, and still remains in the hands of the English East-India company, by the consent of the Mahrattas: the harbor is good, and here is a great trade for salt and other commodities sent hither from Bombay.

42. It was in November following, that the squadron under admiral Watson arrived at Bombay, where it was resolved to give Angria the finishing stroke, still in conjunction with the Mahrattas: meanwhile commodore James was sent to reconnoitre Geriah, the capital of his dominions, and to sound the depth of the harbor; a service which he successfully performed. The admiral, being joined by a division of ships fitted out at the company's expense, having on board a body of troops commanded by colonel Clive, sailed on the seventh of February, and found in the neighborhood of Geriah the Mahratta fleet, consisting of four grabs, and forty smaller vessels, called gallivats, lying to the northward of the place, in a creek called Rajipore; and a land-army of horse and foot amounting to 7000 or 8000 men; the whole commanded by Rhamagee Punt, who had already taken one small fort, and was actually treating about the surrender of Geriah: Angria himself had quitted the place, but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law; who, being summoned to surrender by a

message from the admiral, replied that he would defend the place to the last extremity: in consequence of this refusal, the whole English fleet in two divisions sailed on the twelfth of February into the harbor, and sustained a warm fire from the enemy's batteries as they passed, as well as from the grabs posted in the harbor for that purpose; this, however, was soon silenced after the ships were brought to their stations, so as to return the salutation. Between the hours of four and five in the afternoon, a shell being thrown into one of Angria's armed vessels, set her on fire; and the flames communicating to the rest, they were all destroyed; between six and seven the fort was set on fire by another shell; and soon after the firing ceased on both sides. The admiral, suspecting that the governor of the place would surrender it to the Mahrattas rather than to the English, disembarked all the troops under Mr. Clive, that he might be at hand, in case of emergency, to take possession: in the mean time, the fort was bombarded; the line of battle ships were warped near enough to batter in breach; and then the admiral sent an officer, with a flag of truce to the governor, requiring him to surrender: his proposal being again rejected, the English ships renewed their fire next day with redoubled vigor: about one o'clock the magazine of the fort blew up, and at four the garrison hung out a white flag for capitulation: the parley that ensued proving ineffectual, the engagement began again, and continued till fifteen minutes after five, when the white flag was again displayed; and now the governor submitted to the terms which were imposed: Angria's flag was immediately hauled down; and two English captains, taking possession of the fort with a detachment, forthwith hoisted the British ensign: to these captains, whose names were Buchanan and Forbes, the Mahrattas offered a bribe of 50,000 rupees, if they would allow them to pass their guards, that they might take possession of the fort for themselves; but this offer was rejected with disdain, and immediately disclosed to colonel Clive, who took effectual measures to frustrate their design. In this place, which was reduced with very inconsiderable loss, the conquerors found above 200 cannon, six brass mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, with money and effects to the value of £130,000: the fleet which was destroyed consisted of eight grabs, one ship finished, two on the stocks, and a good number of gallivats: among the prisoners, the admiral found Angria's wife, children, and mother, towards whom

he demeaned himself with great humanity : 300 European soldiers and as many sepoy's were left to guard the fort ; and four of the company's armed vessels remained in the harbor for the defence of the place, which was extremely well situated for commerce.¹⁰

43. The admiral and Mr. Clive sailed back to Madras in triumph, and there another plan was formed for restoring the company's affairs on the Ganges, recovering Calcutta, and taking vengeance on the cruel viceroy of Bengal : in October they set sail again for the bottom of the bay ; and about the beginning of December arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal : having crossed the Braces, they proceeded up the river Ganges as far as Falta, where they found governor Drake, and the other persons who had escaped on board of the ships when Calcutta was invested : colonel Clive was disembarked with his forces to attack the fort of Busbudgia by land, while the admiral battered it by sea ; but the place being ill provided with cannon, did not hold out above one hour after the firing began. This conquest being achieved at a very easy purchase, two of the great ships anchored between Tanny fort and a battery on the other side of the river, which were abandoned before one shot was discharged against either : thus the passage was laid open to Calcutta, the reduction of which we shall record among the transactions of the ensuing year.

¹⁰ When the admiral entered their apartment, the whole family, shedding floods of tears, fell with their faces to the ground ; from which being raised, the mother of Angria told him, in a piteous tone, the people had no king, she no son, her daughter no husband, their children no father the admiral replying, they must look on him as their father and their friend, the youngest boy, about six years of age, seized him by the hand, and sobbing exclaimed, ' then you shall be my father.' Mr. Watson was so affected with this pathetic address, that the tears trickled down his cheeks, while he assured them they might depend on his protection and friendship.

CHAP. XXVI.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1756.

1. Motives of the war in Germany. Conspiracy in Sweden—2. Measures taken by the king of Prussia and elector of Hanover—3. Endeavors of the court of Vienna to frustrate them—4. His Prussian majesty demands an explanation from the empress-queen—5. Her answer—6. The Prussian army enters Saxony, and publishes a manifesto. Prince Ferdinand takes Leipsic.—7. King of Prussia takes possession of Dresden, and blocks up the king of Poland at Pirna—8. Prussian army penetrates into Bohemia, and fights the battle of Lowoschutz—9. Saxon army surrenders—10. King of Poland's memorial to the States-General—11. Imperial decrees published against the king of Prussia—12. Declarations of different powers—13. His Prussian majesty's answer to the Saxon memorial,—14. and justification of his conduct—15. Remarks on both those pieces—16. Disputes between the parliament of Paris and the clergy—17. Dearth of corn in England—18. Hanoverian auxiliaries sent back—19. Session opened—20. Debates on the address—21. Bill passed for prohibiting the exportation of corn. Message to the house concerning admiral Byng—22. Supplies granted—23. Reflections on the continental war—24. Messages from the king to the parliament—25. Measures taken to remove the scarcity of corn—26. Militia-bill—27. Petitions for and against it—28. Altered by the lords—29. Bill for quartering the foreign troops, and for regulating the marines while on shore—30. Bill for the more speedy recruiting the land forces and marines. Act relating to pawnbrokers and gaming-houses—31. Laws relating to the wages of weavers, and to the improvement of the British fishery—32. Act for importing American iron duty free—33. Regulations with respect to the importation of silk—34. Smugglers encouraged to enter into his majesty's service—35. Inquiry into the scarcity of corn—36. Investigation of the loss of Minorca—37. Examination of the American contract—38. Inquiry into the conduct of admiral Knowles, as governor of Jamaica—39. Resolutions concerning Milford-haven—40. Session closed—41. Trial of admiral Byng—42. Recommended to mercy—43. Message from the king to the parliament respecting the sentence—44. Bill to release the members of the court-martial from their oath of secrecy—45. Execution of admiral Byng—46. Paper delivered by him to the marshal of the admiralty—47. Remarks on his fate.

1. HAVING thus, to the best of our power, given a faithful and exact detail of every material event, in which Great

Britain was concerned either at home or in her settlements abroad, during the greatest part of the year 1756, we shall now return to Europe, and endeavor to explain the beginning of a bloody war in Germany, which then seemed to have become the chief object of the British councils. On the eve of a rupture between France and England, it was natural for his Britannic majesty to provide for the safety of his electoral dominions, the only quarter by which he was at all accessible to the efforts of the enemy, who he foresaw would not fail to annoy him through that avenue: he, at that time, stood on indifferent terms with the king of Prussia, who was considered as a partisan and ally of France; and he knew that the house of Austria alone would not be sufficient to support him against two such powerful antagonists: in this emergency, he had recourse to the empress of Russia, who, in consequence of a large subsidy granted by England, engaged to furnish a strong body of forces for the defence of Hanover: his Prussian majesty, startled at the conditions of this treaty, took an opportunity to declare that he would not suffer foreign forces of any nation to enter the empire, either as principals or auxiliaries; a declaration, which probably flowed from a jealousy and aversion he had conceived to the court of Petersburg, as well as from a resolution he had formed of striking some great stroke in Germany, without any risk of being restricted or controlled: he knew he should give umbrage to the French king, who had already made preparations for penetrating into Westphalia; but he took it for granted he should be able to exchange his connexions with France for an alliance with Great Britain, which would be much less troublesome, and much more productive of advantage: indeed, such an alliance was the necessary consequence of his declaration: had his Britannic majesty made a requisition of the Russian auxiliaries, he must have exposed himself to the resentment of a warlike monarch, who hovered on the skirts of his electorate at the head of 140,000 men, and could have subdued the whole country in one week; and if he forbore to avail himself of the treaty with the czarina, he did not know how soon the king of Prussia might be reconciled to his most christian majesty's design of invasion: as for the empress-queen, her attention was engrossed by schemes for her interest or preservation; and her hands so full, that she either could not or would not fulfil the engagements she had contracted with her former and firmest allies: in these circumstances the king of England sought and

obtained the alliance of Prussia, which, to the best of our comprehension, entailed on Great Britain the enormous burden of extravagant subsidies, together with the intolerable expense of a continental war, without being productive of one advantage, either positive or negative, to England or Hanover: on the contrary, this connexion threw the empress-queen into the arms of France, whose friendship she bought at the expense of the barrier in the Netherlands, acquired with infinite labor by the blood and treasure of the maritime powers: it gave birth to a confederacy of despotic princes, sufficient, if their joint force was fully exerted, to overthrow the liberties of all the free states in Europe; and, after all, Hanover has been over-run and subdued by the enemy, and the king of Prussia put to the ban of the empire. All these consequences are, we apprehend, fairly deducible from the resolution which his Prussian majesty took, at this juncture, to precipitate a war with the house of Austria: the apparent motives that prompted him to this measure we shall presently explain: in the mean time, the defensive treaty between the empress-queen and France was no sooner ratified, than the czarina was invited to accede to the alliance, and a private minister sent from Paris to Petersburg, to negotiate the conditions of this accession, which the empress of Russia accordingly embraced;—a circumstance so agreeable to the court of Versailles, that the marquis de l'Hopital was immediately appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Russia. Applications were likewise made to the courts of Madrid and Turin, soliciting their concurrence; but their catholic and Sardinian majesties wisely resolved to observe a neutrality: at the same time, intrigues were begun by the French emissaries in the senate of Sweden, in order to kindle up a war between that nation and Prussia; and their endeavors succeeded in the sequel, even contrary to the inclination of their sovereign: at present, a plot was discovered for altering the form of government, by increasing the power of the crown; and several persons of rank being convicted on trial, were beheaded as principals in this conspiracy. Although it did not appear that the king or queen were at all concerned in the scheme, his Swedish majesty thought himself so hardly treated by the diet, that he threatened to resign his royalty, and retire into his own hereditary dominions: this design was extremely disagreeable to the people in general, who espoused his cause in opposition to the diet, by whom they

conceived themselves more oppressed than they should have been under an unlimited monarchy.

2. The king of Prussia, alarmed at these formidable alliances, ordered all his forces to be completed and held in readiness to march at the first notice; and a report was industriously circulated, that by a secret article in the late treaty between France and the house of Austria, these two powers had obliged themselves to destroy the protestant religion, and overturn the freedom of the empire, by a forced election of a king of the Romans: the cry of religion was no impolitic measure; but it no longer produced the same effect as in times past: religion was made a pretence on both sides; for the partisans of the empress-queen insinuated, on all occasions, that the ruin of the catholic faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the kings of Great Britain and Prussia: it was in consequence of such suggestions, that his Britannic majesty ordered his electoral minister at the diet to deliver a memorial to all the ministers at Ratisbon, expressing his surprise to find the treaty he had concluded with the king of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and umbrage, especially for religion: he observed, that as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and disturbing the peace of the empire; that as he had been denied by the empress-queen the succors stipulated in treaties of alliance; and as he was refused assistance by certain states of the empire, who even seemed disposed to favor such a diversion; he had, in order to provide for the security of his own dominions, to establish peace and tranquillity in the empire, and maintain its system and privileges, without any prejudice to religion, concluded a defensive treaty with the king of Prussia; that, by this instance of patriotic zeal for the welfare of Germany, he had done an essential service to the empress-queen, and performed the part which the head of the empire in dignity and duty ought to have acted; that time would demonstrate how little it was the interest of the empress-queen to engage in a strict alliance with a foreign power, which for upwards of two centuries had ravaged the principal provinces of the empire, maintained repeated wars against the archducal house of Austria, and always endeavored, as it suited her views, to excite distrust and dissension among the princes and states that compose the Germanic body.

3. The court of Vienna formed two considerable armies in

Bohemia and Moravia, yet pretended that they had nothing in view but self-preservation, and solemnly disclaimed both the secret article, and the design which had been laid to their charge: his most christian majesty declared, by his minister at Berlin, that he had no other intention but to maintain the public tranquillity of Europe; and, this being the sole end of all his measures, he beheld with surprise the preparations and armaments of certain potentates: that, whatever might be the view with which they were made, he was disposed to make use of the power which God had put into his hands, not only to maintain the public peace of Europe against all who should attempt to disturb it, but also to employ all his forces, agreeably to his engagements, for the assistance of his ally, in case her dominions should be attacked: finally, that he would act in the same manner in behalf of all the other powers with whom he was in alliance. This intimation made very little impression on the king of Prussia, who had already formed his plan, and was determined to execute his purpose: what his original plan might have been, we shall not pretend to disclose; nor do we believe he imparted it to any confidant or ally: it must be confessed, however, that the intrigues of the court of Vienna furnished him with a specious pretence for drawing the sword and commencing hostilities: the empress-queen had some reason to be jealous of such a formidable neighbor: she remembered his irruption into Bohemia in the year 1744, at a time when she thought that country and all her other dominions secure from his invasion by the treaty of Breslau, which she had in no particular contravened: she caballed against him in different courts of Europe; she concluded a treaty with the czarina, which, though seemingly defensive, implied an intention of making conquests on this monarch; she endeavored to engage the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a contracting power in this confederacy; and, if he had not been afraid of a sudden visit from his neighbor of Prussia, it cannot be supposed but he would have been pleased to contribute to the humiliation of a prince, who had once before, without the least provocation, driven him from his dominions, taken possession of his capital, routed his troops, and obliged him to pay 1,000,000 of crowns to indemnify him for the expense of this expedition: but he carefully avoided taking such a step as might expose him to another invasion, and even refused to accede to the treaty of Petersburg, though it was ex-

pressly defensive; the *casus fœderis* being his Prussian majesty's attacking either of the contracting parties: it appears, however, that count de Bruhl, prime minister and favorite of the king of Poland, had, in conjunction with some of the Austrian ministers, carried on certain scandalous intrigues, in order to embroil the king of Prussia with the empress of Russia, between whom a misunderstanding had long subsisted.

4. His Prussian majesty, perceiving the military preparations of the court of Vienna, and having obtained intelligence of their secret negotiations with different powers of Europe, ordered M. de Klingraafe, his minister at the imperial court, to demand whether all those preparations of war on the frontiers of Silesia were designed against him, and what were the intentions of her imperial majesty: to this demand the empress replied, that in the present juncture she had found it necessary to make armaments, as well for her own defence as for that of her allies; but that they did not tend to the prejudice of any person or state whatever: the king, far from being satisfied with this general answer, sent fresh orders to Klingraafe, to represent, that after the king had dissembled, as long as he thought consistent with his safety and honor, the bad designs imputed to the empress would not suffer him longer to disguise his sentiments: that he was acquainted with the offensive projects which the two courts had formed at Petersburg; that he knew they had engaged to attack him suddenly with an army of 200,000 men; a design which would have been executed in the spring of the year, had not the Russian forces wanted recruits, their fleet mariners, and Livonia a sufficient quantity of corn for their support: that he constituted the empress arbiter of peace or war; if she desired the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or positive assurance, that she had no intention to attack him either this year or the next; but he should look on an ambiguous answer as a declaration of war; and he called Heaven to witness, that the empress alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that should be spilt, and all the dismal consequences that would attend the commission of hostilities.

5. A declaration of this nature might have provoked a less haughty court than that of Vienna, and, indeed, seems to have been calculated on purpose to exasperate the pride of her imperial majesty, whose answer he soon received to this effect: that his majesty the king of Prussia had already

been employed for some time in all kinds of the most considerable preparations of war, and the most disquieting with regard to the public tranquillity, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her majesty touching the military dispositions that were making in her dominions; dispositions, on which she had not resolved till after the preparations of his Prussian majesty had been made: that though her majesty might have declined explaining herself on those subjects, which required no explanation, she had been pleased to declare with her own mouth to M. de Klingraafe, that the critical state of public affairs rendered the measures she was taking absolutely necessary for her own safety and that of her allies, but that in other respects they tended to the prejudice of no person whatsoever: that her imperial majesty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment she pleased on the circumstances of the times; and likewise that it belonged to none but herself to estimate her own danger: that her declaration was so clear, she never imagined it could be thought otherwise: that being accustomed to receive, as well as to practise, the decorums which sovereigns owe to each other, she could not hear without astonishment and sensibility the contents of the memorial now presented by M. de Klingraafe; so extraordinary both in the matter and expressions, that she would find herself under a necessity of transgressing the bounds of that moderation which she had prescribed to herself were she to answer the whole of its contents; nevertheless, she thought proper to declare, that the information communicated to his Prussian majesty, of an offensive alliance against him subsisting between herself and the empress of Russia, together with the circumstances and pretended stipulations of that alliance, were absolutely false and forged, for no such treaty did exist or ever had existed: she concluded with observing, that this declaration would enable all Europe to judge of what weight and quality those dreadful events were which Klingraafe's memorial announced; and to perceive that, in any case, they could not be imputed to her imperial majesty. This answer, though seemingly explicit, was not deemed sufficiently categorical, or at least not suitable to the purposes of the king of Prussia, who, by his resident at Vienna, once more declared, that if the empress-queen would sign a positive assurance that she would not attack his Prussian majesty either this year or the next, he would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be restored

to their former footing: this demand was evaded, on pretence that such an assurance could not be more binding than the solemn treaty by which he was already secured; a treaty, which the empress-queen had no intention to violate: but before an answer could be delivered, the king had actually invaded Saxony, and published his declaration against the court of Vienna. The court of Vienna, believing that the king of Prussia was bent on employing his arms somewhere, being piqued at the dictatorial manner in which his demands were conveyed, unwilling to lay themselves under farther restrictions, apprehensive of giving umbrage to their allies, and confident of having provided for their own security, resolved to run the risk of his resentment, not without hopes of being indemnified, in the course of the war, for that part of Silesia which the queen had been obliged to cede in the treaty of Breslau.

6. Both sides being thus prepared, and perhaps equally eager for action, the king of Prussia would no longer suspend his operations, and the storm fell first on Saxony: he resolved to penetrate through that country into Bohemia, and even to take possession of it as a frontier, as well as for the convenience of ingress and egress to and from the Austrian dominions: besides, he had reason to believe the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was connected with the czarina and the empress-queen; therefore he thought it would be impolitic to leave that prince in any condition to give him the least disturbance. His army entered the Saxon territory towards the latter end of August, when he published a declaration, importing that the unjust conduct and dangerous views of the court of Vienna against his majesty's dominions laid him under the necessity of taking proper measures for protecting his territories and subjects; that for this purpose he could not forbear taking the disagreeable resolution to enter with his troops the hereditary dominions of his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony; but he protested before God and man, that on account of his personal esteem and friendship for that prince, he would not have proceeded to this extremity, had he not been forced to it by the laws of war, the fatality of the present conjuncture, and the necessity of providing for the defence and security of his subjects: he reminded the public of the tenderness with which he had treated the elector of Saxony during the campaign of the year 1744, and of the bad consequences resulting to that monarch from his engagements with the enemies of

Prussia : he declared that the apprehensions of being exposed again to such enterprises had obliged him to take those precautions which prudence dictated ; but he protested in the most solemn manner, that he had no hostile views against his Polish majesty or his dominions ; that his troops did not enter Saxony as enemies ; and he had taken care that they should observe the best order and the most exact discipline ; that he desired nothing more ardently than the happy minute that should procure him the satisfaction of restoring to his Polish majesty his hereditary dominions, which he had seized only as a sacred deposit. By his minister at Dresden, he had demanded a free passage for his forces through the Saxon dominions, and this the king of Poland was ready to grant, with reasonable limitations, to be settled by commissaries appointed for that purpose : but these were formalities which did not at all suit with his Prussian majesty's disposition or design : even before this requisition was made, a body of his troops, amounting to 15,000, under the command of prince Ferdinand, brother to the duke of Brunswick, took possession of Leipsic on the twentieth of September : here he published a declaration, signifying that it was his Prussian majesty's intention to consider and defend the inhabitants of that electorate as if they were his own subjects, and that he had given precise orders to his troops to observe the most exact discipline : as the first mark of his affection, he ordered them to provide the army with all sorts of provision, according to a certain rate, on pain of military execution : that same evening notice was given to the corporation of merchants, that their deputies should pay all taxes and customs to the king of Prussia ; then he took possession of the custom-house and excise-office, and ordered the magazines of corn and meal to be opened for the use of his soldiers.

7. The king of Poland, apprehensive of such a visitation, had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and assemble in a strong camp marked out for them between Pirna and Konigstein, which was intrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery : thither the king of Poland repaired, with his two sons Xaverius and Charles ; but the queen and the rest of the royal family remained at Dresden : of his capital, his Prussian majesty, with the bulk of his army, took possession on the eighth of September, when he was visited by lord Stormont, the English ambassador at that court, accompanied by count

Salmour, a Saxon minister, who in his master's name proposed a neutrality. The king of Prussia professed himself extremely well pleased with the proposal; and, as the most convincing proof of his neutrality, desired the king of Poland would separate his army, by ordering his troops to return to their former quarters: his Polish majesty did not like to be so tutored in his own dominions: he depended for his own safety more on the valor and attachment of his troops thus assembled, than on the friendship of a prince who had invaded his dominions, and sequestered his revenue without provocation; and he trusted too much to the situation of his camp at Pirna, which was deemed impregnable: in the mean time, the king of Prussia fixed his head-quarters at Seidlitz, about half a German league distant from Pirna; and posted his army in such a manner, as to be able to intercept all convoys of provision designed for the Saxon camp: his forces extended on the right towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and the vanguard actually seized the passes that lead to the circles of Satzer and Leutmeritz, in that kingdom; while prince Ferdinand of Brunswick marched with a body of troops along the Elbe, and took post at this last place without opposition: at the same time, the king covered his own dominions, by assembling two considerable bodies in Upper and Lower Silesia, which occupied the passes that communicated with the circles of Buntzlau and Konigsgratz. Hostilities were commenced on the thirteenth of September, by a detachment of Prussian hussars, who attacked an Austrian escort to a convoy of provisions, designed for the Saxon camp; and having routed them, carried off a considerable number of loaded waggons: the magazines at Dresden were filled with an immense quantity of provision and forage for the Prussian army, and the bakers were ordered to prepare a vast quantity of bread, for which purpose thirty new ovens were erected. When the king of Prussia first arrived at Dresden, he lodged at the house of the countess Moczinska, and gave orders that the queen and royal family of Poland should be treated with all due veneration and respect:¹¹ even while the Saxon

¹¹ His majesty seems to have abated of this respect in the sequel, if we may believe the assertions of his Polish majesty's queen and the court of Vienna, who affirmed that sentinels were posted within the palace where the queen and royal family resided; as also at the door of the secret cabinet, where the

camp was blocked up on every side, he sometimes permitted a waggon, loaded with fresh provision and game, to pass unmolested, for the use of his Polish majesty.

8. During these transactions, the greatest part of the Prussian army advanced into Bohemia, under the command of field-marshal Keith,¹² who reduced the town and palace of Tetchen, took possession of all the passes, and encamped near Aussig, a small town in Bohemia, at no great distance from the imperial army, amounting to 50,000 men, commanded by count Brown, an officer of Irish extract, who had often distinguished himself in the field by his courage, vigilance, and conduct. His Prussian majesty, having left a considerable body of troops for the blockade of Pirna, assumed in person the command of marshal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to the enemy: on the twenty-ninth of September he formed his troops in two columns, and in the evening arrived with his van at Welmina, from whence he saw the Austrian army posted with its right at Lowoschutz,

papers relating to foreign transactions were deposited: the keys of this cabinet were seized, and all the writings demanded: the whole Saxon ministry were discharged from their respective employments, and a new commission was established by the king of Prussia for the administration of affairs in general. When the queen entreated this prince to remove the sentinels posted within the palace and contiguous passages, agreeably to his assurances that all due respect should be observed towards the royal family, the king ordered the guards to be doubled, and sent an officer to demand of her majesty the keys of the secret cabinet: the queen obtained the officer's consent that the doors should be sealed up; but afterwards he returned with orders to break them open: then her majesty, placing herself before the door, said she trusted so much to the promise of the king of Prussia, that she could not believe he had given such orders: the officer declaring that his orders were positive, and that he durst not disobey them, she continued in the same place, declaring, that if violence was to be used, he must begin with her; the officer returning to acquaint the king with what had passed, her majesty conjured the ministers of Prussia and England to remind his majesty of his promise; but her representations had no effect; the officer returned with fresh orders to use force, in spite of the opposition she might make against it in person: the queen, finding herself in danger of her life, at length withdrew; the doors were forced, the chest broken open, and all the papers seized.

¹² Brother to the earl-marshal of Scotland; a gentleman who had signalised himself as a general in the Russian army, and was accounted one of the best officers of his time; not more admired for his warlike genius than amiable in his disposition.

and its left towards the Egra: having occupied with six battalions a hollow way, and some rising grounds, which commanded the town of Lowoschutz, he remained all night under arms at Welmina; and on the first of October, early in the morning, formed his whole army in order of battle; the first line, consisting of the infantry, occupying two hills, and a bottom betwixt them; the second line being formed of some battalions; and the third composed of the whole cavalry: the Austrian general had taken possession of Lowoschutz with a great body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in front of the town: he had formed his cavalry chequerwise, in a line between Lowoschutz and the village of Sanschitz; and posted about 2000 Croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was darkened with a thick fog, which vanished about seven: then the Prussian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy's horse; but received such a fire from the irregulars, posted in vineyards and ditches, as well as from a numerous artillery, that they were obliged to retire for protection to the rear of the Prussian infantry and cannon: there being formed and led back to the charge, they made an impression on the Austrian cavalry, and drove the irregulars, and other bodies of infantry, from the ditches, defiles, and vineyards which they possessed; but they suffered so severely in this dangerous service, that the king ordered them to reascend the hill, and take post again behind the infantry, from whence they no more advanced: in the mean time, a furious cannonading was maintained on both sides with considerable effect: at length, the left of the Prussian infantry was ordered to attack the town of Lowoschutz in flank; but met with a very warm reception, and in all likelihood would have miscarried, had not field-marshal Keith headed them in person: when he drew his sword, and told them he would lead them on, he was given to understand that all their powder and shot were exhausted; he turned immediately to them with a cheerful countenance, said he was very glad they had no more ammunition, being well assured the enemy could not withstand them at push of bayonet; so saying, he advanced at their head, and, driving the Austrians from Lowoschutz, set the suburbs on fire: the infantry had been already obliged to quit the eminence on the right; and now their whole army retired to Budin, on the other side of the Egra: some prisoners, colors, and pieces of cannon were taken on both sides; and the loss of each might amount to 2500 killed and wounded; so that, on the whole, it was a drawn battle, though both generals

claimed the victory. The detail of the action, published at Berlin, declares that the king of Prussia not only gained the battle, but that same day established his head-quarters at Lowoschutz; whereas the Austrian Gazette affirms, that marshal count Brown obliged his Prussian majesty to retire, and remained all night on the field of battle; but next day, finding his troops in want of water, he repaired to the camp of Budin. If the battle was at all decisive, the advantage certainly fell to the Austrians; for his Prussian majesty, who in all probability had hoped to winter at Prague, was obliged, by the opposition he met with, to resign this plan, and retreat before winter into the electorate of Saxony.

9. The Prussian army having rejoined that body which had been left to block up the Saxons at Pirna, his Polish majesty and his troops were reduced to such extremity of want, that it became indispensably necessary either to attempt an escape, or surrender to the king of Prussia: the former part of the alternative was chosen, and the plan concerted with count Brown, the Austrian general, who, in order to facilitate the execution, advanced privately with a body of troops to Lichtendorf, near Schandau; but the junction could not be effected: on the fourteenth of October the Saxons threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe, near Konigstein, to which castle they removed all their artillery; then striking their tents in the night, passed the river undiscovered by the enemy: they continued to retreat with all possible expedition; but the roads were so bad, they made little progress: next day, when part of them had advanced about half way up a hill opposite to Konigstein, and the rest were entangled in a narrow plain where there was no room to act, they perceived that the Prussians were in possession of all the passes, and found themselves surrounded on every side, fainting with hunger and fatigue, and destitute of every convenience: in this deplorable condition they remained, when the king of Poland, from the fortress of Konigstein, sent a letter to his general, field-marshal count Rutowski, vesting him with full and discretionary power to surrender, or take such other measures, as he should judge most conducive to the preservation of the officers and soldiers.¹³ By this time count Brown had retired to

¹³ The letter was to the following effect:—

Field-marshal count Rutowski,—It is not without extreme sorrow I understand the deplorable situation which a chain of

Budin, so that there was no choice left : a capitulation was demanded ; but, in effect, the whole Saxon army was obliged to surrender at discretion ; and the soldiers were afterwards by compulsion incorporated with the troops of Prussia. The king of Poland, being thus deprived of his electoral dominions, his troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, thought it high time to provide for his own safety, and retired with all expedition to Poland : his Prussian majesty cantoned his forces in the neighborhood of Seidlitz, and along the Elbe towards Dresden : his other army, which had entered Bohemia, under the command of the count de Ichwerin, retired to the confines of the county of Glatz, where they were distributed in quarters of cantonment ; so that this short campaign was finished by the beginning of November.

10. The king of Poland, in his distress, did not fail to implore the assistance and mediation of neutral powers : his minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the States-General, complaining that the invasion of Saxony was one of those attacks against the law of nations, which, from the great respect due to this law, demanded the assistance of every power interested in the preservation of its own liberty and independence : he observed, that from the first glimpse of misunderstanding between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, he had expressly enjoined his ministers at all the courts of Europe to declare that it was his firm resolution, in the present conjuncture of affairs, to observe the strictest neutrality : he represented that a free and neutral state had

misfortunes has reserved for you, the rest of my generals, and my whole army ; but we must acquiesce in the dispensations of Providence, and console ourselves with the rectitude of our sentiments and intentions. They would force me, it seems, as you give me to understand by major-general the baron de Dyherrn, to submit to conditions the more severe, in proportion as the circumstances become more necessitous : I cannot bear them mentioned : I am a free monarch ; such I will live ; such I will die ; and I will both live and die with honor : the fate of my army I leave wholly to your discretion : let your council of war determine whether you must surrender prisoners of war, fall by the sword, or die by famine : may your resolutions, if possible, be conducted by humanity ! whatever they may be, I have no longer any share in them ; and I declare you shall not be answerable for aught but one thing, namely, not to carry arms against me or my allies. I pray God may have you, Mr. Marshal, in his holy keeping. Given at Konigstein, October 14, 1756.

‘ AUGUSTUS, rex.’

‘ To the field-marshal the count Rutowski.’

been, in the midst of peace, invaded by an enemy, who disguised himself under the mask of friendship, without alleging the least complaint or any pretension whatsoever; but founding himself solely on his own convenience, made himself master, by armed force, of all the cities and towns of the electorate, dismantling some and fortifying others: that he had disarmed the burghers, carried off the magistrates as hostages for the payment of unjust and enormous contributions of provisions and forage, seized the coffers and confiscated the revenues of the electorate, broke open the arsenals, and transported the arms and artillery to his own town of Magdeburg; abolished the privy-council; and, instead of the lawful government, established a directory, which acknowledged no other law but his own arbitrary will: he gave them to understand, that all these proceedings were no other than preliminaries to the unheard-of treatment which was reserved for a queen, whose virtues ought to have commanded respect even from her enemies; that from the hands of that august princess the archives of the state were forced away by menaces and violences, notwithstanding the security which her majesty had promised herself under the protection of all laws human and divine; and notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the king of Prussia, that not only her person and the place of her residence should be absolutely safe, but that even the Prussian garrison should be under her direction: he observed, that a prince who declared himself protector of the protestant religion had begun the war by crushing the very state to which that religion owes its establishment and the preservation of its most invaluable rights; that he had broken through the most respectable laws which constitute the union of the Germanic body, under color of a defence which the empire stood in no need of except against himself; that the king of Prussia, while he insists on having entered Saxony as a friend, demands his army, the administration of his dominions, and, in a word, the sacrifice of his whole electorate; and that the Prussian directory, in the declaration of motives, published under the nose of a prince to whom friendship was pretended, thought it superfluous to allege even any pretext to color the usurpation of his territories and revenues. Though this was certainly the case in his Prussian majesty's first exposition of motives, the omission was afterwards supplied in a subsequent memorial to the States-General; in which he charged the king

of Poland as an accomplice in, if not an accessory to, the treaty of Petersburg ; and even taxed him with having agreed to a partition of some Prussian territories when they should be conquered : this treaty of partition, however, appears to have been made in time of actual war, before all cause of dispute was removed by the peace of Dresden.

11. While the Austrian and Prussian armies were in the field, their respective ministers were not idle at Ratisbon, where three imperial decrees were published against his Prussian majesty ; the first summoning that prince to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony ; the second commanding all the vassals of the empire employed by the king of Prussia to quit that service immediately ; and the third forbidding the members of the empire to suffer any levies of soldiers for the Prussian service to be raised within their respective jurisdictions. The French minister declared to the diet, that the proceedings of his Prussian majesty having disclosed to the world the project concerted between that prince and the king of England, to excite in the empire a religious war which might be favorable to their particular views, his most christian majesty, in consequence of his engagement with the empress-queen and many other princes of the empire, being resolved to succor them in the most efficacious manner, would forthwith send such a number of troops to their aid, as might be thought necessary to preserve the liberty of the Germanic body : on the other hand, the Prussian minister assured the diet, that his master would very soon produce the proofs that were come to his hands of the plan concerted by the courts of Vienna and Dresden for the subversion of his electoral house, and for imposing on him a yoke, which seemed to threaten the whole empire.

12. About the same time, the Russian resident at the Hague communicated to the States-General a declaration from his mistress, importing that her imperial majesty, having seen a memorial presented at the court of Vienna by the king of Prussia's envoy extraordinary, was thereby convinced that his Prussian majesty's intention was to attack the territories of the empress-queen ; in which case, she, the czarina, was inevitably obliged to succor her ally with all her forces ; for which end she had ordered all her troops in Livonia to be forthwith assembled on the frontiers, and hold themselves in readiness to march ; that moreover the Russian admiralty had been enjoined to provide immediately

a sufficient number of galleys for transporting a large body of troops to Lubeck. The ministers of the empress-queen, both at the Hague and at London, delivered memorials to the States-General and his Britannic majesty, demanding the succors which these two powers were bound to afford the house of Austria by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but their high-mightinesses kept warily aloof by dint of evasion, and the king of Great Britain was far otherwise engaged. The invasion of Saxony had well nigh produced tragedies in the royal family of France: the dauphiness, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, no sooner learned the distressful circumstances of her parents, the king and queen of Poland, than she was seized with violent fits which occasioned a miscarriage, and brought her life into the most imminent danger: the Prussian minister was immediately ordered to quit Versailles, and directions were despatched to the French minister at Berlin to retire from that court without taking leave: finally, the emperor of Germany concluded a new convention with the French king, regulating the succors to be derived from that quarter: he claimed, in all the usual forms, the assistance of the Germanic body, as guarantee of the pragmatic sanction and treaty of Dresden; and Sweden was also addressed on the same subject.

13. The king of Prussia did not passively bear all the imputations that were fixed on his conduct: his minister at the Hague presented a memorial, in answer to that of the Saxon resident, in which he accused the court of Dresden of having adopted every part of the scheme which his enemies had formed for his destruction: he affirmed that the Saxon ministers had, in all the courts of Europe, played off every engine of unwarrantable politics, in order to pave the way for the execution of their project; that they had endeavored to give an odious turn to his most innocent actions; that they had spared neither malicious insinuations, nor even the most atrocious calumnies, to alienate all the world from his majesty, and raise up enemies against him every where: he said he had received information that the court of Saxony intended to let his troops pass freely, and afterwards wait for events of which they might avail themselves, either by joining his enemies, or making a diversion in his dominions; that in such a situation he could not avoid having recourse to the only means which were left him for preventing his inevitable ruin, by putting it out of the power of Saxony to

increase the number of his enemies: he asserted, that all the measures he had pursued in that electorate were but the necessary consequences of the first resolution he was forced to take for his own preservation; that he had done nothing but deprived the court of Saxony of the means of hurting him, and this had been done with all possible moderation; that the country enjoyed all the security and all the quiet which could be expected in the very midst of peace, the Prussian troops observing the most exact discipline; that all due respect was shown to the queen of Poland, who had been prevailed on, by the most suitable representations, to suffer some papers to be taken from the paper office, of which his Prussian majesty already had copies, and thought it necessary, to ascertain the dangerous design of the Saxon ministry against him, to secure the originals, the existence and reality of which might otherwise have been denied: he observed, that every man has a right to prevent the mischief with which he is threatened, and to retort it on its author; and that neither the constitutions nor the laws of the empire could obstruct the exertion of a right so superior to all others as that of self-preservation and self-defence; especially when the depository of these laws is so closely united to the enemy, as manifestly to abuse his power in her favor.

14. But the most important step which his Prussian majesty took in his own justification, was that of publishing another memorial, specifying the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous designs against his person and interest, together with the original documents adduced as proofs of these sinister intentions: as a knowledge of these pieces is requisite to form a distinct idea of the motives which produced the dreadful war on the continent, it will not be amiss to usher the substance of them to the reader's acquaintance. His Prussian majesty affirms, that to arrive at the source of the vast plan on which the courts of Vienna and Saxony had been employed against him ever since the peace of Dresden, we must trace it as far back as the war which preceded this peace: that the fond hopes which the two allied courts had conceived on the success of the campaign in the year 1744, gave occasion to a treaty of eventual partition, stipulating that the court of Vienna should possess the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz; while the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, should share the duchies of Magdeburg and Croissen, the circles of Zullichow and Swibus,

together with the Prussian part of Lusatia: that after the peace of Dresden, concluded in the year 1745, there was no farther room for a treaty of this nature; yet the court of Vienna proposed to that of Saxony a new alliance, in which the treaty of eventual partition should be renewed; but this last thought it necessary, in the first place, to give a greater consistency to their plan, by grounding it on an alliance between the empress-queen and the czarina: accordingly, these two powers did, in fact, conclude a defensive alliance at Petersburg in the course of the ensuing year; but the body, or ostensible part of this treaty, was composed merely with a view to conceal from the knowledge of the public six secret articles, the fourth of which was levelled singly against Prussia, according to the exact copy of it, which appeared among the documents: in this article, the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia sets out with a protestation that she will religiously observe the treaty of Dresden; but explains her real way of thinking on the subject, a little lower, in the following terms:—‘If the king of Prussia should be the first to depart from this peace, by attacking either her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or her majesty the empress of Russia, or even the republic of Poland;—in all these cases, the rights of the empress-queen to Silesia and the county of Glatz would again take place, and recover their full effect; the two contracting parties should mutually assist each other with 60,000 men to achieve these conquests.’ The king observes on this article, that every war which can arise between him and Russia, or the republic of Poland, would be looked on as a manifest infraction of the peace of Dresden, and a revival of the rights of the house of Austria to Silesia, though neither Russia nor the republic of Poland is at all concerned in the treaty of Dresden; and though the latter, with which the king lived in the most intimate friendship, was not even in alliance with the court of Vienna: that, according to the principles of the law of nature, received among all civilised nations, the most the court of Vienna could be authorised to do in such cases, would be to send those succors to her allies which are due to them by treaties; without her having the least pretence on that account to free herself from the particular engagements subsisting between her and the king: he appealed, therefore, to the judgment of the impartial world, whether in this secret article the contracting powers had kept within the bounds of a defensive alliance; or whether this

article did not rather contain a plan of an offensive alliance against the king of Prussia: he affirmed, it was obvious from this article that the court of Vienna had prepared three pretences for the recovery of Silesia; and that she thought to attain her end, either by provoking the king to commence hostilities against her, or to kindle a war between his majesty and Russia by her secret intrigues and machinations: he alleged, that the court of Saxony, being invited to accede to this alliance, eagerly accepted the invitation; furnished its ministers at Petersburg with full powers for that purpose; and ordered them to declare that their master was not only ready to accede to the treaty itself, but also to the secret article against Prussia, and to join in the regulations made by the two courts, provided effectual measures should be taken, as well for the security of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompense, in proportion to the efforts and progress that might be made: that the court of Dresden declared, if, on any fresh attack from the king of Prussia, the empress-queen should, by their assistance, not only reconquer Silesia and the county of Glatz, but also reduce him within narrow bounds, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, would abide by the partition formerly stipulated between him and the empress-queen: he also declared that count Loss, the Saxon minister at Vienna, was charged to open a private negociation for settling an eventual partition of the conquest which might be made on Prussia, by laying down, as the basis of it, the treaty of Leipsic, signed on the eighteenth of May, in the year 1745, as would appear by the documents affixed: he owned it had been supposed, through the whole of this negociation, that the king of Prussia should be the aggressor against the court of Vienna; but he insisted that even in this case the king of Poland could have no right to make conquests on his Prussian majesty: he likewise acknowledged that the court of Saxony had not yet acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburg; but he observed, its allies were given to understand again and again, that it was ready to accede without restriction, whenever this could be done without risk, and the advantages to be gained should be secured in its favor; circumstances proved by divers authentic documents, particularly by a letter from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, informing him that count Uhlefeld had charged him to represent afresh to his court, that they could not take too secure measures against the ambitious views of the king of Prussia; that Saxony, in par-

similar, ought to be restored, as being the most expedient: that it was of the highest importance to strengthen their engagements on the footing proposed in the late treaty of Berlin, in the year 1745; a step, which might be taken in consequence of his Polish majesty's accession to the treaty of Petersburg. The answer of count Brühl to this demand imported, that the king of Poland was not averse to treat in the utmost secrecy with the court of Vienna about success, by private and confidential declarations relating to the fourth article of the treaty of Petersburg, on condition of reasonable terms and advantages, which in this case ought to be granted to his majesty: he quoted other despatches to prove the unwillingness of his Polish majesty to declare himself, until the king of Prussia should be attacked and his forces divided; and that this scruple was admitted by the allies of Saxony. From these premises he deduced this inference; that the court of Dresden, without having acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburg, was not less an accomplice in the dangerous designs which the court of Vienna had grounded on this treaty; and that having been dispensed with from a formal concurrence, it had only waited for that moment when it might, without running any great risk, conquer in effect, and share the spoils of its neighbor: in expectation of this period, he said, the Austrian and Saxon ministers labored in concert and underhand with the more ardor to bring the *canon fœderis* into existence; for it being laid down as a principle in the treaty, that any war whatever between him and Russia would authorise the empress-queen to take Silesia, there was nothing more to be done but to kindle such a war; for which purpose no method was found more proper than that of embroiling the king with the empress of Russia; and to provoke that princess with all sorts of false insinuations, impostures, and the most atrocious calumnies, in laying to his majesty's charge a variety of designs; sometimes against Russia, and even the person of the czarina; sometimes views on Poland; and sometimes intrigues in Sweden: by these and other such contrivances, he affirmed they had kindled the animosity of the empress to such a degree, that in a council held in the month of October, 1753, she had resolved to attack the king of Prussia, without any farther discussion, whether he should fall on any of the allies of Russia, or one of them should begin with him;—a resolution, which for that time was frustrated by their want of seamen and magazines; but the

preparations were continued under pretence of keeping themselves in a condition to fulfil their engagements, contracted in the last subsidiary convention with England ; and when all were finished, the storm would fall on the king of Prussia.

15. This is the substance of that famous memorial published by his Prussian majesty, to which the justifying pieces or authentic documents were annexed, and to which a circumstantial answer was exhibited by the partisans of her imperial majesty. Specious reasons may, doubtless, be adduced on either side of almost any dispute by writers of ingenuity ; but, in examining this contest, it must be allowed that both sides adopted illicit practices : the empress-queen and the elector of Saxony had certainly a right to form defensive treaties for their own preservation ; and, without all doubt, it was their interest and their duty to secure themselves from the enterprises of such a formidable neighbor ; but, at the same time, the contracting parties seem to have carried their views much farther than defensive measures : perhaps the court of Vienna considered the cession of Silesia as a circumstance altogether compulsive, and therefore not binding against the rights of natural equity : she did not at all doubt that the king of Prussia would be tempted by his ambition and great warlike power to take some step which might be justly interpreted into an infraction of the treaty of Dresden ; and in that case she was determined to avail herself of the confederacy she had formed, that she might retrieve the countries she had lost by the unfortunate events of the last war, as well as bridle the dangerous power and disposition of the Prussian monarch ; and, in all probability, the king of Poland, over and above the same consideration, was desirous of some indemnification for the last irruption into his electoral dominions, and the great sums he had paid for the subsequent peace : whether they were authorised by the law of nature and nations to make reprisals by an actual partition of the countries they might conquer, supposing him to be the aggressor, we shall not pretend to determine ; but it does not at all appear that his Prussian majesty's danger was such as entitled him to take those violent steps which he now attempted to justify : by this time the flame of war was kindled up to a blaze that soon filled the empire with ruin and desolation ; and the king of Prussia had drawn on himself the resentment of the three greatest powers in Europe, who laid aside their former

animosities, and every consideration of that balance, which it had cost such blood and treasure to preserve, in order to conspire his destruction : the king himself could not but foresee this confederacy, and know the power it might exert ; but probably he confided so much in the number, the valor, and discipline of his troops ; in the skill of his officers ; in his own conduct and activity ; that he hoped to crush the house of Austria by one rapid endeavor at the latter end of the season, or at least establish himself in Bohemia before her allies could move to her assistance : in this hope, however, he was disappointed by the vigilance of the Austrian councils : he found the empress-queen in a condition to make head against him in every avenue to her dominions, and in a fair way of being assisted by the circles of the empire : he saw himself threatened with the vengeance of the Russian empress, and the sword of France gleaming over his head, without any prospect of assistance but that which he might derive from his alliance with Great Britain. Thus the king of England exchanged the alliance of Russia, who was his subsidiary, and the friendship of the empress-queen, his old and natural ally, for a new connexion with his Prussian majesty, who could neither act as an auxiliary to Great Britain nor as a protector to Hanover ; and for this connexion, the advantage of which was merely negative, such a price was paid by England, as had never been given by any other potentate of Europe, even for services of the greatest importance.

16. About the latter end of November, the Saxon minister at Ratisbon delivered to the diet a new and ample memorial, explaining the lamentable state of that electorate, and imploring afresh the assistance of the empire : the king of Prussia had also addressed a letter to the diet, demanding succor of the several states, agreeable to their guarantees of the treaties of Westphalia and Dresden ; but the minister of Mentz, as director of the diet, having refused to lay it before that assembly, the minister of Brandenburg ordered it to be printed, and sent to his court for farther instructions : in the mean time his Prussian majesty thought proper to intimate to the king and senate of Poland, that should the Russian troops be permitted to march through that kingdom, they might expect to see their country made a scene of war and desolation. In France, the prospect of a general and sanguinary war did not at all allay the disturbance which sprang from the dissension between the clergy and

parliament touching the bull *Unigenitus*: the king, being again brought over to the ecclesiastical side of the dispute, received a brief from the pope, laying it down as a fundamental article, that whosoever refuses to submit to the bull *Unigenitus* is in the way of damnation; and certain cases are specified, in which the sacraments are to be denied: the parliament of Paris, considering this brief or bull as a direct attack on the rights of the Gallican church, issued an *arrêt*, or decree, suppressing the said bull; reserving to themselves the right of providing against the inconveniences with which it might be attended; as well as the privilege to maintain in their full force the prerogatives of the crown, the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the customs of the realm. The king, dissatisfied with their interposition, declared his design to hold a bed of justice in person at the palace: accordingly, on the twelfth of November, the whole body of his guards, amounting to 10,000 men, took post in the city of Paris; and next day the king repaired with the usual ceremony to the palace, where the bed of justice was held: among other regulations, an edict was issued for suppressing the fourth and fifth chambers of inquests, the members of which had remarkably distinguished themselves by their opposition to the bull *Unigenitus*.

17. In England, the dearth of corn, arising in a great measure from the iniquitous practice of engrossing, was so severely felt by the common people, that insurrections were raised in Shropshire and Warwickshire by the populace, in conjunction with the colliers, who seized by violence all the provision they could find; pillaging without distinction the millers, farmers, grocers, and butchers, until they were dispersed by the gentlemen of the country, at the heads of their tenants and dependents: disorders of the same nature were excited by the colliers on the forest of Dean, and those employed in the works in Cumberland. The corporations, noblemen, and gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, exerted themselves for the relief of the poor, who were greatly distressed; and a grand council being assembled at St. James's on the same subject, a proclamation was published, for putting the laws in speedy and effectual execution against the forestallers and engrossers of corn.

18. The fear of an invasion having now subsided, and Hanover being supposed in greater danger than Great Britain, the auxiliaries of that electorate were transported

from England to their own country : at the latter end of the season, when the weather became severe, the innkeepers of England refused to admit the Hessian soldiers into winter-quarters, as no provision had been made for that purpose by act of parliament ; so that they were obliged to hut their camp, and remain in the open fields till January : but the rigor of this uncomfortable situation was softened by the hand of generous charity, which liberally supplied them with all manner of refreshment, and other conveniences :—a humane interposition, which rescued the national character from the imputation of cruelty and ingratitude.

19. On the second of December, his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech that seemed to be dictated by the genius of England. He expressed his confidence, that, under the guidance of Divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of Great Britain : he declared, that the succor and preservation of America constituted a main object of his attention and solicitude ; and observed, that the growing dangers to which the British colonies might stand exposed from late losses in that country, demanded resolutions of vigor and despatch : he said, an adequate and firm defence at home should maintain the chief place in his thoughts ; and in this great view he had nothing so much at heart as to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction from his people : for this end, he recommended to the care and diligence of the parliament the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the just rights of his crown and people ; an institution which might become one good resource in time of general danger : he took notice, that the unnatural union of councils abroad ; the calamities which, in consequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by irruptions of foreign armies into the empire, shake its constitution, overturn its system, and threaten oppression to the protestant interest on the continent, were events which must sensibly affect the minds of the British nation, and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous crisis : he gave them to understand, that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the desire of his parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in Germany, relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of his people in defence of his person and realm : he told the commons that he confided in their

wisdom for preferring more vigorous efforts, though more expensive, to a less effectual, and therefore less frugal plan of war; that he had placed before them the dangers and necessities of the public; and it was their duty to lay the burdens they should judge unavoidable in such a manner as would least disturb and exhaust his people: he expressed his concern for the sufferings of the poor, arising from the present dearth of corn, and for the disturbances to which it had given rise; and exhorted his parliament to consider of proper provisions for preventing the like mischiefs hereafter: he concluded with remarking, that unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean had drawn from his subjects signal proofs how dearly they tendered the honor of his crown; therefore, they could not, on his part, fail to meet with just returns of unwearied care, and unceasing endeavors for the glory, prosperity, and happiness of his people.

20. The king having retired from the house of peers, the speech was read by lord Sandys, appointed to act as speaker to that house; then earl Gower moved for an address, which, however, was not carried without objection: in one part of it his majesty was thanked for having caused a body of electoral troops to come into England at the request of his parliament; and this article was disagreeable to those who had disapproved of the request in the last session: they said they wished to see the present address unanimously agreed to by the lords; a satisfaction they could not have, if such a paragraph should be inserted; for they still thought the bringing over Hanoverian troops a preposterous measure, because it had not only loaded the nation with an enormous expense, but also furnished the court of France with a plausible pretence for invading the electorate, which otherwise it would have no shadow of reason to attack: besides, the expedient was held in reprobation by the subjects in general, and such a paragraph might be considered as an insult on the people. Notwithstanding these exceptions, which did not seem to be very important, the address, including this paragraph, was approved by a great majority.

21. In the address of the commons no such paragraph was inserted: as soon as the speaker had recited his majesty's speech, Mr. C. Townshend proposed the heads of an address, to which the house unanimously agreed; and it was presented accordingly. This necessary form was no sooner discussed, than the house, with a warmth of humanity and benevolence suitable to such an assembly,

resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on that part of his majesty's speech which related to the dearth of corn that so much distressed the poorer class of people: a bill was immediately framed to prohibit, for a time limited, the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and a resolution unanimously taken to address the sovereign, that an embargo might be forthwith laid on all ships laden or to be laden with these commodities to be exported from the ports of Great Britain and Ireland: at the same time, vice-admiral Boscawen, from the board of admiralty, informed the house, that the king and the board having been dissatisfied with the conduct of admiral Byng, in a late action with the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and for the appearance of his not having acted agreeably to his instructions for the relief of Minorca, he was then in custody of the marshal of the admiralty, in order to be tried by a court-martial: that although this was no more than what was usual in like cases, yet as admiral Byng was then a member of the house, and as his confinement might detain him some time from his duty there, the board of admiralty thought it a respect due to the house to inform them of the commitment and detainer of the said admiral. This message being delivered, the journal of the house in relation to rear-admiral Knowles was read,¹⁴ and what Mr. Boscawen now communicated was also inserted.

¹⁴ Rear-admiral Knowles being, in the month of December, 1749, tried at Deptford, before a court-martial, for his behavior in and relating to an action which happened on the first of October in the preceding year between a British squadron under his command and a squadron of Spain, the court was unanimously of opinion, that the said Knowles, while he was standing for the enemy, might, by a different disposition of his squadron, have begun the attack with six ships as early in the day as four of them were engaged, and that, therefore, by his neglecting so to do, he gave the enemy a manifest advantage; that the said Knowles remained on board the ship Cornwall with his flag after she was disabled from continuing the action, though he might, on her being disabled, have shifted his flag on board another ship; and the court were unanimously of opinion, he ought to have done so, in order to have conducted and directed, during the whole action, the motions of the squadron entrusted to his care and conduct. On consideration of the whole conduct of the said Knowles relating to that action, the court did unanimously agree that he fell under part of the fourteenth article of the articles of war, namely, the word Negligence, and no other; and also under the twenty-third article: the court, therefore, unanimously adjudged, that he

22. The committees of supply and of ways and means being appointed, took into consideration the necessities of the state, and made very ample provision for enabling his majesty to maintain the war with vigor [1757.]: they granted 55,000 men for the sea-service, including 11,419 marines, and for the land-service 49,749 effective men, comprehending 4008 invalids: the supply was granted for the maintenance of these forces, as well as for the troops of Hesse and Hanover; for the ordnance; the levy of new regiments; for assisting his majesty in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of his electoral dominions and those of his allies, and towards enabling him to fulfil his engagements with the king of Prussia; for the security of the empire against the eruption of foreign armies,¹⁵ as well as for the support of the common cause; for building and repairs of ships, hiring transports, payment of half-pay officers, and the pensions of widows; for enabling his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the last session of parliament, and charged on the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session, for enabling the governors and guardians of the hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children to receive all such children, under a certain age, as should be brought to the said hospital within the compass of one year;¹⁶ for maintaining and supporting the new settlement

should be reprimanded for not bringing up the squadron in closer order than he did, and not beginning the attack with as great force as he might have done; and also for not shifting his flag, on the Cornwall's being disabled.

¹⁵ Nothing could more gloriously evince the generosity of a British parliament than this interposition for defending the liberties of Germany, in conjunction with two electors only, against the sense of the other seven, and in direct opposition to the measures taken by the head of the empire, who in the sequel stigmatised these two princes as rebels, and treated one of them as an outlaw.

¹⁶ This charity, established by voluntary contribution, might, under proper restrictions, prove beneficial to the commonwealth, by rescuing deserted children from misery and death, and qualifying them for being serviceable members of the community; but since the liberality of parliament has enabled the governors and corporation to receive all the children that are presented without question or limitation, the yearly expense has swelled into a national grievance, and the humane purposes of the original institution are in a great measure defeated: instead of an asylum

of Nova Scotia ; for repairing and finishing military roads ; for making good his majesty's engagement with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel ; for the expense of marching, recruiting, and remounting German troops in the pay of Great Britain ; for empowering his majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the ensuing year ; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigence of affairs should require ; for the payment of such persons, in such a manner as his majesty should direct, for the use and relief of his subjects in the several provinces of North and South-Carolina and Virginia, in recompense for such services, as, with the approbation of his majesty's commander in chief in America, they respectively had performed, or should perform, either by putting these provinces in a state of defence, or by acting with vigor against the enemy ; for enabling the East-India company to defray the expense of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained in them, in lieu of a battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those forts and factories ; for the maintenance and support of the forts on the coast of Africa ; for widening the avenues, and rendering more safe and commodious the streets and passages leading from Charing-cross to the two houses of parliament, the courts of justice, and the new bridge at Westminster.¹⁷ Such were the articles under which we may specify the supplies of this year, on the whole amounting to £8,350,325. 9s. 3d. It must be acknowledged, for the honor of the administration, that the house of commons could not have exhibited stronger marks of their attachment to the crown and person of their sovereign, as well as of their desire to see the force of the nation exerted with becoming spirit : the sums granted by

for poor forlorn orphans and abandoned foundlings, it is become a general receptacle for the offspring of the dissolute, who care not to work for the maintenance of their families. The hospital itself is a plain edifice, well contrived for economy and convenience, standing on the north side of the city, and a little detached from it, in an agreeable and salubrious situation : the hall is adorned with some good paintings, the chapel is elegant, and the regulations are admirable.

¹⁷ The bridge at Westminster may be considered as a national ornament : it was built at the public expense from the neighborhood of Westminster-hall to the opposite side of the river, and consists of thirteen arches, constructed with equal elegance and simplicity.

the committee of supply did not exceed £8,350,325. 9s. 3d.; the funds established amounted to £8,689,051. 19s. 7d.; so that there was an overplus of £338,726. 10s. 4d.; an excess, which was thought necessary, in case the lottery, which was founded on a new plan, should not succeed.

23. Some of these impositions were deemed grievous hardships by those on whom they immediately fell; and many friends of their country exclaimed against the projected army of observation in Germany, as the commencement of a ruinous continental war, which it was neither the interest of the nation to undertake nor in their power to maintain, without starving the operations by sea and in America, founded on British principles; without contracting such an additional load of debts and taxes, as could not fail to terminate in bankruptcy and distress. To those dependents of the ministry, who observed, that as Hanover was threatened by France for its connexion with Great Britain, it ought in common gratitude to be protected, they replied, that every state, in assisting any ally, ought to have a regard to its own preservation: that if the king of England enjoyed by inheritance or succession a province in the heart of France, it would be equally absurd and unjust, in case of a rupture with that kingdom, to exhaust the treasures of Great Britain in the defence of such a province; and yet the inhabitants of it would have the same right to complain that they suffered for their connexion with England: they observed, that other dominions, electorates, and principalities in Germany were secured by the constitutions of the empire, as well as by fair and equal alliances with their co-estates; whereas Hanover stood solitary, like a hunted deer avoided by the herd, and had no other shelter but that of shrinking under the extended shield of Great Britain: that the reluctance expressed by the German princes to undertake the defence of these dominions flowed from a firm persuasion, founded on experience, that England would interpose as a principal; and not only draw her sword against the enemies of that electorate, but concentrate her chief strength in that object, and waste her treasures in purchasing their concurrence; that, exclusive of an ample revenue drained from the sweat of the people, great part of which had been expended in continental efforts, the whole national debt incurred, since the accession of the late king, had been contracted in pursuance of measures totally foreign to the interest of these kingdoms; that, since Hanover was

the favorite object, England would save money and great quantities of British blood by allowing France to take possession of the electorate, paying its ransom at the peace, and indemnifying the inhabitants for the damage they might sustain ;—an expedient, that would be productive of another good consequence ; it would rouse the German princes from their affected indifference, and oblige them to exert themselves with vigor, in order to avoid the detested neighborhood of such an enterprising invader.

24. The article of the supply relating to the army of observation took rise from a message signed by his majesty, and presented by Mr. Pitt, now promoted to the office of principal secretary of state ; a gentleman, who had, on sundry occasions, combated the gigantic plan of continental connexions with all the strength of reason and all the powers of eloquence : he now imparted to the house an intimation, importing, it was always with reluctance that his majesty asked extraordinary supplies of his people ; but as the united councils and formidable preparations of France and her allies threatened Europe in general with the most alarming consequence, and as these unjust and vindictive designs were particularly and immediately bent against his majesty's electoral dominions, and those of his good ally, the king of Prussia, his majesty confided in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, that they would cheerfully assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation for the just and necessary defence and preservation of those territories, and enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Prussian majesty, for the security of the empire against the irruption of foreign armies, and for the support of the common cause. Posterity will hardly believe, that the emperor and all the princes of Germany were in a conspiracy against their country, except the king of Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel ; and they will, no doubt, be surprised, that Great Britain, after all the treaties she had made, and the numberless subsidies she had granted, should not have an ally left, except one prince, so embarrassed in his own affairs, that he could grant her no succor, whatever assistance he might demand. The king's message met with as favorable a reception as he could have desired : it was read in the house of commons, together with a copy of the treaty between his majesty and the king of Prussia, including the secret and separate article, and the declaration signed on each side by the plenipo-

tentiaries at Westminster; the request was granted, and the convention approved: with equal readiness did they gratify his majesty's inclination, signified in another message, delivered on the seventeenth of May by lord Bateman, intimating, that in this critical juncture emergences might arise of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; his majesty was therefore desirous that the house would enable him to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigence of affairs might require. The committee of supply forthwith granted a very large sum for these purposes, including the charge of German mercenaries: a like message being at the same time communicated to the upper house, their lordships voted a very loyal address on the occasion; and when the article of supply, which it produced among the commons, fell under their inspection, they unanimously agreed to it, by way of a clause of appropriation.

25. We have already observed, that the first bill which the commons passed in this session was for the relief of the poor, by prohibiting the exportation of corn; but this remedy not being judged adequate to the evil, another bill was framed, removing for a limited time the duty then payable on foreign corn and flour imported, as also permitting for a certain time all such foreign corn, grain, meal, bread, biscuit, and flour, as had been or should be taken from the enemy, to be landed and expended in the kingdom duty free. In order still more to reduce the high price of corn, and to prevent any supply of provisions from being sent to our enemies in America, a third bill was brought in, prohibiting, for a time therein limited, the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, starch, beef, pork, bacon, or other victual, from any of the British plantations, unless to Great Britain or Ireland, or from one colony to another: to this act two clauses were added, for allowing those necessaries, mentioned above, to be imported in foreign-built ships, and from any state in amity with his majesty, either into Great Britain or Ireland; and for exporting from Southampton or Exeter to the isle of Man, for the use of the inhabitants, a quantity of wheat, barley, oats, meal, or flour, not exceeding 2500 quarters. The commons would

have still improved their humanity, had they contrived and established some effectual method to punish those unfeeling villains, who, by engrossing and hoarding up great quantities of grain, had created this artificial scarcity, and deprived their fellow creatures of bread, with a view to their own private advantage: on a subsequent report of the committee, the house resolved, that, to prevent the high price of wheat and bread, no spirits should be distilled from wheat for a limited time: while the bill formed on this resolution was in embryo, a petition was presented to the house by the brewers of London, Westminster, Southwark, and parts adjacent, representing, that when the resolution passed, the price of malt, which was before too high, immediately rose to such a degree, that the petitioners found themselves utterly incapable of carrying on business at the price malt then bore, occasioned, as they conceived, from an apprehension of the necessity the distillers would be under to make use of the best pale malt, and substitute the best barley in lieu of wheat: that, in such a case, the markets would not be able to supply a sufficient quantity of barley for the demands of both professions, besides other necessary uses: they, therefore, prayed, that in regard to the public revenue, to which the trade of the petitioners so largely contributed, proper measures might be taken for preventing the public loss, and relieving their particular distress. The house would not lend a deaf ear to a remonstrance in which the revenue was concerned: the members appointed to prepare the bill immediately received instructions to make provision in it to restrain, for a limited time, the distilling of barley, malt, and all grain whatsoever: the bill was framed accordingly, but did not pass without strenuous opposition: to this prohibition it was objected, that there are always large quantities of wheat and barley in the kingdom so much damaged, as to be unfit for any use but the distillery; consequently a restriction of this nature would ruin many farmers, and others employed in the trade of malting: particular interests, however, must often be sacrificed to the welfare of the community; and the present distress prevailed over the prospect of this disadvantage: if they had allowed any sort of grain to be distilled, it would have been impossible to prevent the distilling of every kind: the prohibition was limited to two months; but at the expiration of that term, the scarcity still continuing, it was protracted by a new bill to the eleventh of December, with a proviso,

empowering his majesty to put an end to it at any time after the eleventh of May, if such a step should be judged for the advantage of the kingdom.

26. The next bill that engaged the attention of the commons was a measure of the utmost national importance, though secretly disliked by many individuals of the legislature, who nevertheless did not venture to avow their disapprobation: the establishment of a militia was a very popular and desirable object, but attended with numberless difficulties, and a competition of interests which it was impossible to reconcile: it had formerly been an inexhaustible source of contention between the crown and the commons; but now both apparently concurred in rendering it serviceable to the commonwealth, though some acquiesced in the scheme who were not at all hearty in its favor. On the fourth of December, a motion was made for the bill by colonel George Townshend, eldest son of lord viscount Townshend, a gentleman of courage, sense, and probity; endowed with penetration to discern and honesty to pursue the real interest of his country, in defiance of power, in contempt of private advantages: leave being given to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in the several counties of England, the task of preparing it was allotted to Mr. Townshend, and a considerable number of the most able members in the house, comprehending his own brother, Mr. Charles Townshend, whose genius shone with distinguished lustre: he was keen, discerning, eloquent, and accurate; possessed a remarkable vivacity of parts, with a surprising solidity of understanding; was a wit without arrogance, a patriot without prejudice, and a courtier without dependence.

27. While the militia-bill remained under consideration in the house, a petition for a constitutional and well-regulated militia was presented by the mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the king's town and parish of Maidstone, in Kent, in common-council assembled: at the same time remonstrances were offered by the protestant dissenting ministers of the three denominations in and about the cities of London and Westminster, by the protestant dissenters of Shrewsbury, the dissenting ministers of Devonshire, the protestant dissenters being freeholders and burgesses of the town and county of the town of Nottingham, joined with other inhabitants of the church of England, expressing their apprehension, that in the bill then depending it might be proposed

to enact that the said militia should be exercised on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and praying that no clause for such purpose might pass into a law: though nothing could be more ridiculously fanatic and impertinent than a declaration of such a scruple against a practice so laudable and necessary, in a country where that day of the week is generally spent in merry-making, riot, and debauchery, the house paid so much regard to the squeamish consciences of those puritanical petitioners, that Monday was pitched on for the day of exercise to the militia, though on such working days they might be much more profitably employed both for themselves and their country; and that no religious pretence should be left for opposing the progress and execution of the bill, proper clauses were inserted for the relief of the quakers. Another petition and counter-petition were delivered by the magistrates, freeholders, and burgesses of the town of Nottingham in relation to their particular franchises, which were accordingly considered in framing the bill.

28. After mature deliberation and divers alterations, it passed the lower house, and was sent to the lords, for their concurrence: here it underwent several amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of militia-men to one half of what the commons had promised; namely, to 32,340 men for the whole kingdom of England and Wales: the amendments being canvassed in the lower house, met with some opposition, and divers conferences with their lordships ensued: at length, however, the two houses agreed to every article, and the bill soon received the royal sanction: no provision, however, was made for clothes, arms, accoutrements, and pay: had regulations been made for these purposes, the act would have become a money-bill, in which the lords could have made no amendment: in order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two houses on a dispute of privileges not yet determined, and that the house of peers might make what amendments they should think expedient, the commons left the expense of the militia to be regulated in a subsequent bill during the following session, when they could with more certainty compute what sum would be necessary for these purposes: after all, the bill seemed to be crude, imperfect, and ineffectual, and the promoters of it were well aware of its defects; but they were apprehensive that it would have been dropped altogether had they insisted on the scheme's being executed in its full extent: they were eager to seize this

opportunity of trying an experiment, which might afterwards be improved to a greater national advantage; and therefore they acquiesced in many restrictions and alterations, which otherwise would not have been adopted.

29. The next measure that fell under the consideration of the house was rendered necessary by the inhospitable perseverance of the publicans and innholders, who conceived themselves not obliged by law to receive or give quarters in their houses to any foreign troops, and accordingly refused admittance to the Hessian auxiliaries, who began to be dreadfully incommoded by the severity of the weather: this objection implying an attack on the prerogative, the government did not think fit at this juncture to dispute any other way than by procuring a new law in favor of those foreigners: it was entitled, 'a bill to make provision for quartering the foreign troops now in this kingdom,' prepared by lord Barrington, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the solicitor-general, and immediately passed without opposition. This step being taken, another bill was brought in, for the regulation of the marine forces while on shore: this was almost a transcript of the mutiny-act, with this material difference: it empowered the admiralty to grant commissions for holding general courts-martial, and to do every thing, and in the same manner, as his majesty is empowered to do by the usual mutiny-bill; consequently, every clause was adopted without question.

30. The same favorable reception was given to a bill for the more speedy and effectual recruiting his majesty's land forces and marines; a law, which threw into the hands of many worthless magistrates an additional power of oppressing their fellow-creatures: all justices of the peace, commissioners for the land-tax, magistrates of corporations and boroughs, were empowered to meet by direction of the secretary at war, communicated in precepts issued by the high-sheriffs, or their deputies, within their respective divisions, and at their usual places of meeting, to qualify themselves for the execution of the act: then they were required to appoint the times and places for their succeeding meetings; to issue precepts to the proper officers for these succeeding meetings; and to give notice of the time and place of every meeting to such military officers, as, by notice from the secretary at war, should be directed to attend that service. The annual bill for preventing mutiny and desertion met with no objections, and indeed contained

nothing essentially different from that which had passed in the last session. The next law enacted, was for farther preventing embezzlement of goods and apparel by those with whom they are entrusted, and putting a stop to the practice of gaming in public houses: by this bill a penalty was inflicted on pawnbrokers, in a summary way, for receiving goods, knowing them not to be the property of the pledger, and pawned without the authority of the owner:¹⁸ with respect to gaming, the act ordained, that all publicans, suffering journeymen, laborers, servants, or apprentices to game with cards, dice, shuffle-boards, mississippi, or billiard tables, skittles, nine-pins, &c. should forfeit forty shillings for the first offence; and for every subsequent offence ten pounds shall be levied by distress.

31. Divers inconveniences having resulted from the interposition of justices, who, in pursuance of an act of parliament passed in the present reign, assumed the right of establishing rates for the payment of wages to weavers, several petitions were offered to the house of commons, representing the evil consequences of such an establishment; and although these arguments were answered and opposed in counter-petitions, the commons, actuated by a laudable concern for the interest of the woollen manufacture, after due deliberation removed the grievance by a new bill, repealing so much of the former act as empowered justices of the

¹⁸ It was enacted, that persons pawning, exchanging, or disposing of goods, without leave of the owner, should suffer in the penalty of twenty shillings; and, on non-payment, be committed for fourteen days to hard labor; afterwards, if the money could not then be paid, to be whipped publicly in the house of correction, or such other place as the justice of the peace should appoint, on publication of the prosecutor: that every pawnbroker should make entry of the person's name and place of abode who pledges any goods with him; and the pledger, if he required it, should have a duplicate of that entry: that a pawnbroker, receiving linen or apparel entrusted to others to be washed or mended, should forfeit double the sum lent on it, and restore the goods: that on oath of any person whose goods are unlawfully pawned or exchanged, the justice should issue a warrant to search the suspected person's house; and on refusal of admittance the officer might break open the door: that goods pawned for any sum not exceeding ten pounds might be recovered within two years, the owner making oath of the pawning, and tendering the principal, interest, and charges: that goods remaining unredeemed for two years should be forfeited and sold; the overplus to be accounted for to the owner on demand.

peace to make rates for the payment of wages.¹⁹ The commons were not more forward to provide supplies for prosecuting the war with vigor, than ready to adopt new regulations for the advantage of trade and manufactures. The society of the free British fishery presented a petition, alleging, that they had employed the sum of £130,305. 8s. 6d. together with the intire produce of their fish, and all the moneys arising from the several branches allowed on the tonnage of their shipping and on the exportation of their fish, in carrying on the said fishery; and that, from their being obliged, in the infancy of the undertaking, to incur a much larger expense than was at that time foreseen, they now found themselves so far reduced in their capital as to be utterly incapable of farther prosecuting the fisheries with any hope of success, unless indulged with the farther assistance of parliament: they prayed therefore, that, towards enabling them to carry on the said fisheries, they might have liberty to make use of such nets as they should find best adapted to the said fisheries; each buss, nevertheless, carrying to sea the same quantity and depth of netting, which by the fishery-acts they were then bound to carry; that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton, allowed by the said acts on the vessels employed in the fishery, might be increased; and forasmuch as many of the stock-proprietors were unable to advance any farther sum for prosecuting this branch of commerce, and others unwilling, in the present situation, and under the present restraints, to risk any farther sum in the undertaking; that the stock of the society, by the said acts made unalienable, except in case of death or bankruptcy, for a term of years, might forthwith be made transferable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fishing season, to employ the busses in such a manner as they should find for the advantage of the society. While

¹⁹ It likewise imported, that all contracts or agreements made between clothiers and weavers, in respect to wages, should, from and after the first of May, 1757, be valid, notwithstanding any rate established, or to be established; but that these contracts or agreements should extend only to the actual prices or rates of workmanship or wages, and not to the payment thereof in any other manner than in money; and that if any clothier should refuse or neglect to pay the weaver the wages or price agreed on, in money, within two days after the work should be performed and delivered, the same being demanded, he should forfeit forty shillings for every such offence.

the committee was employed in deliberating on the particulars of this remonstrance, another was delivered from the free British fishery-chamber of Whitehaven in Cumberland, representing, that as the law then stood, they went to Shetland, and returned at a great expense and loss of time ; and while the war continued, durst not stay there to fish, besides being obliged to run the most imminent risks, by going and returning without convoy : that ever since the institution of the present fishery, experience had fully shown the fishery of Shetland not worth following, as thereby the petitioners had lost two months of a much better fishery in St. George's channel, within one day's sail of Whitehaven : they took notice, that the free British fishery society had applied to the house for farther assistance and relief ; and prayed that Campbell-town in Argyleshire might be appointed the place of rendezvous for the busses belonging to Whitehaven, for the summer as well as the winter fishery, that they might be enabled to fish with greater advantage. The committee, having considered the matter of both petitions, were of opinion that the petitioners should be at liberty to use such nets as they should find best adapted to the white herring-fishery ; that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be augmented to fifty ; that the petitioners should be allowed, during the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ their vessels in any other lawful business, provided they should have been employed in the herring-fishery during the proper seasons ; that they might use such barrels for packing the fish as they then used, or might hereafter find best adapted for that purpose ; that they should have liberty to make use of any waste or uncultivated land, one hundred yards at the least above high-water mark, for the purpose of drying their nets ; and that Campbell-town would be the most proper and convenient place for the rendezvous of the busses belonging to Whitehaven : this last resolution, however, was not inserted in the bill which contained the other five, and in a little time received the royal assent.

32. Such are the connexions, dependences, and relations subsisting between the mechanical arts, agriculture, and manufactures of Great Britain, that it requires study, deliberation, and inquiry in the legislature to discern and distinguish the whole scope and consequences of many projects offered for the benefit of the commonwealth. The society of merchant-adventurers in the city of Bristol al-

leged, in a petition to the house of commons, that great quantities of bar-iron were imported into Great Britain from Sweden, Russia, and other parts, chiefly purchased with ready money, some of which iron was exported again to Africa and other places, and the rest wrought up by the manufacturers: they affirmed that bar-iron, imported from North-America, would answer the same purposes, and the importation of it tend not only to the great advantage of the kingdom, by increasing its shipping and navigation, but also to the benefit of the British colonies: that by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his present majesty's reign, the importation of bar-iron from America into the port of London, duty free, was permitted; but its being carried coastways, or farther by land than ten miles, had been prohibited; so that several very considerable manufacturing towns were deprived of the use of American iron, and the out-ports prevented from employing it in their export commerce: they requested, therefore, that bar-iron might be imported from North-America into Great Britain, duty free, by all his majesty's subjects: this request being reinforced by many other petitions from different parts of the kingdom, other classes of men, who thought their several interests would be affected by such a measure, took the alarm, and in divers counter-petitions specified many ill consequences which they alleged would arise from its being enacted into a law: pamphlets were published on both sides of the question; and violent disputes were kindled on this subject, which was justly deemed a matter of national importance. The opposers of the bill observed, that large quantities of iron were yearly produced at home, and employed multitudes of poor people, there being no less than 109 forges in England and Wales, besides those erected in Scotland, the whole producing 18,000 tons of iron: that as the mines in Great Britain are inexhaustible, the produce would of late years have been considerably increased, had not the people been kept under continual apprehension of seeing American iron admitted duty free; a supposition, which had prevented the traders from extending their works, and discouraged many from engaging in this branch of traffic: they alleged that the iron works, already carried on in England, occasioned a consumption of 198,000 cords of wood, produced in coppices that grow on barren lands, which could not otherwise be turned to any good account: that as the coppices afford shade, and preserve a moisture in the ground,

the pasture is more valuable with the wood, than it would be if the coppices were grubbed up; consequently, all the estates, where these now grow, would sink in their yearly value: that these coppices, now cultivated and preserved for the use of the iron works, are likewise absolutely necessary for the manufacture of leather, as they furnish bark for the tanners; and that, according to the management of these coppices, they produced a great number of timber trees, so necessary for the purposes of building: they asserted, that neither the American iron, nor any that had yet been found in Great Britain, was so proper for converting into steel as that which comes from Sweden, particularly that sort called ore ground; but as there are mines in the northern parts of Britain, nearly in the same latitude with those of Sweden, furnished with sufficient quantities of wood, and rivers for mills and engines; it was hardly to be doubted but that people would find metal of the same quality, and in a few years be able to prevent the necessity of importing iron either from Sweden or Russia: they inferred that American iron could never interfere with that which Great Britain imported from Sweden, because it was not fit for edged tools, anchors, chain-plates, and other particulars necessary in ship-building; nor diminish the importation of Russian iron, which was not only harder than the American and British, but also could be afforded cheaper than that brought from our own plantations, even though the duty of this last should be removed: the importation of American iron, therefore, duty free, could interfere with no other sort but that produced in Britain, with which, by means of this advantage, it would clash so much, as to put a stop in a little time to all the iron works now carried on in the kingdom, and reduce to beggary a great number of families whom they support. To these objections the favorers of the bill solicited replied, that when a manufacture is much more valuable than the rough materials, and these cannot be produced at home in sufficient quantities, and at such a price as is consistent with the preservation of the manufacture, it is the interest of the legislature to admit a free importation of these materials, even from foreign countries, although it should put an end to the production of that material in this island: that as the neighbors of Great Britain are now more attentive than ever to their commercial interests, and endeavoring to manufacture their rough materials at home, this nation must take every method for lowering the price of

materials : otherwise in a few years it will lose the manufacture ; and, instead of supplying other countries, be furnished by them with all the fine toys and utensils made of steel and iron : that being in danger of losing not only the manufacture but the produce of iron, unless it can be procured at a cheaper rate than that for which it is sold at present, the only way of attaining this end, is by diminishing the duty payable on the importation of foreign iron, or by rendering it necessary for the undertakers of the iron mines in Great Britain to sell their produce cheaper than it has been for some years afforded : that the most effectual method for this purpose is to raise up a rival, by permitting a free importation of all sorts of iron from the American plantations : that American iron can never be sold so cheap as that of Britain can be afforded ; for in the colonies labor of all kinds is much dearer than in England ; if a man employs his own slaves, he must reckon in his charge a great deal more than the common interest of their purchase-money, because when one of them dies, or escapes from his master, he loses both interest and principal : that the common interest of money in the plantations is considerably higher than in England, consequently no man in that country will employ his money in any branch of trade by which he cannot gain considerably more per cent. than is expected in Great Britain, where the interest is low, and profit moderate ; a circumstance, which will always give a great advantage to the British miner, who likewise enjoys an exemption from freight and insurance, which lie heavy on the American adventurer, especially in time of war : with respect to the apprehension of the leather-tanners, they observed, that as the coppices generally grew on barren lands, not fit for tillage, and improved the pasturage, no proprietor would be at the expense of grubbing up the wood to spoil the pasture, as he could make no other use of the land on which it was produced : the wood must be always worth something, especially in counties where there is not plenty of coal, and the timber trees would produce considerable advantage : therefore, if there was not one iron mine in Great Britain, no coppice would be grubbed up, unless it grew on a rich soil, which would produce corn instead of cord wood ; consequently, the tanners have nothing to fear, especially as planting has become a prevailing taste among the landholders of the island. The committee appointed to prepare the bill seriously weighed and canvassed these argu-

ments, examined disputed facts, and inspected papers and accounts relating to the produce, importation, and manufactory of iron: at length, Mr. John Pitt reported to the house their opinion, implying that the liberty granted by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his majesty's reign, of importing bar-iron from the British colonies in America into the port of London, should be extended to all the other ports of Great Britain, and that so much of that act as related to this clause should be repealed: the house having agreed to these resolutions, and the bill being brought in accordingly, another petition was presented by several noblemen, gentlemen, freeholders, and other proprietors, owners, and possessors of coppices and woodlands, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, alleging, that a permission to import American bar-iron duty free would be attended with numberless ill consequences both of a public and private nature; specifying certain hardships to which they in particular would be exposed; and praying, that if the bill should pass, they might be relieved from the pressure of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. obliging the owners of coppice-woods to preserve them, under severe penalties; and be permitted to fell and grub up their coppice-woods, in order to a more proper cultivation of the soil, without being restrained by the fear of malicious and interested prosecutions: in consequence of this remonstrance, a clause was added to the bill, repealing so much of the act of Henry VIII. as prohibited the conversion of coppice or underwoods into pasture or tillage: then it passed through both houses, and received the royal sanction. As there was not time, after this affair came on the carpet, to obtain any new accounts from America, and as it was thought necessary to know the quantities of iron made in that country; the house presented an address to his majesty, desiring he would be pleased to give directions that there should be laid before them, in the next session of parliament, an account of the quantity of iron made in the American colonies, from Christmas, 1749, to the fifth of January, 1756, each year being distinguished.

33. From this important object the parliament converted its attention to a regulation of a much more private nature: in consequence of a petition by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, a bill was brought in, and passed into a law without opposition, for the more effectual preservation and improvement of the fry and spawn of fish in the river Thames and waters of Medway, and for

the better regulating the fishery in those rivers. The two next measures taken for the benefit of the public were, first, a bill to render more effectual the several laws then in being for the amendment and preservation of the highways and turnpike roads of the kingdom; the other, for the more effectually preventing the spreading of the contagious distemper, which at that time raged among the horned cattle: a third arose from the distress of poor silk manufacturers, who were destitute of employment, and deprived of all means of subsisting, through the interruption of the Levant trade, occasioned by war and the delay of the merchant ships from Italy: in order to remedy this inconvenience, a bill was prepared, enacting, that any persons might import from any place, in any ship or vessel whatsoever, till the first of December, 1757, organzine thrown silk of the growth or production of Italy, to be brought to the custom-house of London wheresoever landed; but that no Italian thrown silk, coarser than Bologna, nor any tram of the growth of Italy, nor any other thrown silk of the growth or production of Turkey, Persia, East-India, or China, should be imported by this act, under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof: notwithstanding several petitions, presented by the merchants, owners, and commanders of ships, and others trading to Leghorn, and other ports of Italy, as well as by the importers and manufacturers of raw silks, representing the evil consequences that would probably attend the passing of such a bill, the parliament agreed to this temporary deviation from the famous act of navigation, for a present supply to the poor manufacturers.

34. The next civil regulation established in this session of parliament was in itself judicious, and, had it been more eagerly suggested, might have been much more beneficial to the public. In order to discourage the practice of smuggling, and prevent the desperados concerned therein from enlisting in the service of the enemy, a law was passed, enacting, that every person who had been, before the first of May in the present year, guilty of illegal running, concealing, receiving, or carrying any wool or prohibited goods, or any foreign commodities liable to duties, the same not having been paid or secured; or of aiding therein, or had been found with fire-arms or weapons, in order to be aiding to such offenders; or had been guilty of receiving such goods after seizure; or of any act whatsoever, whereby persons might be deemed runners of foreign goods; or of hindering,

wounding, or beating any officer in the execution of his duty, or assisting therein; should be indemnified from all such offences, concerning which no suit should then have been commenced, or composition made; on condition that he should, before being apprehended or prosecuted, and before the first of December, enter himself with some commissioned officer of his majesty's fleet, to serve as a common sailor; and should, for three years from such entry, unless sooner duly discharged, actually serve and do duty in that station, and register his name, &c. with the clerk of the peace of the county where he resided, as the act prescribes. An attempt was made in favor of the seamen employed in the navy, who had been very irregularly paid, and subject to grievous hardships in consequence of this irregularity: Mr. Grenville, brother to earl Temple, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the encouragement of seamen employed in his majesty's navy, and for establishing a regular method for the punctual, speedy, and certain payment of their wages, as well as for rescuing them from the arts of fraud and imposition: the proposal was corroborated by divers petitions; the bill was prepared, read, printed; and, after it had undergone some amendment, passed into the house of lords, where it was encountered with several objections, and dropped for this session of parliament.

35. The house of commons, being desirous of preventing for the future such distresses as the poor had lately undergone, appointed a committee to consider of proper provisions to restrain the price of corn and bread within due bounds for the future: for this purpose they were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records; and it was resolved that all who attended the committee should have voices: having inquired into the causes of the late scarcity, they agreed to several resolutions; and a bill was brought in to explain and amend the laws against regraters, forestallers, and engrossers of corn: the committee also received instructions to inquire into the abuses of millers, mealmen, and bakers with regard to bread, and to consider of proper methods to prevent them in the sequel; but no farther progress was made in this important affair, which was the more interesting, as the lives of individuals in a great measure depended on a speedy reformation; for the millers and bakers were said to have adulterated their flour with common whiting, lime, bone, ashes, alum, and other ingredients pernicious to the human constitution; a con-

summation of villany for which no adequate punishment could be inflicted. Among the measures proposed in parliament which did not succeed, one of the most remarkable was a bill prepared by Mr. Rose Fuller, Mr. Charles Townshend, and Mr. Banks, to explain, amend, and render more effectual a law passed in the reign of king William III., entitled, 'an act to punish governors of plantations in this kingdom for crimes committed by them in the plantation.' This bill was proposed in consequence of some complaints, specifying acts of cruelty, folly, and oppression, by which some British governors had been lately distinguished; but, before the bill could be brought in, the parliament was prorogued.

36. But no step taken by the house of commons in the course of this session was more interesting to the body of the people than the inquiry into the loss of Minorca, which had excited such loud and universal clamor: by addresses to the king, unanimously voted, the commons requested that his majesty would give directions for laying before them copies of all the letters and papers containing any intelligence received by the secretaries of state, the commissioners of the admiralty, or any others of his majesty's ministers, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the designs of the French on Minorca, or any other of his majesty's possessions in Europe, since the first of January, 1755, to the first of August, 1756: they likewise desired to peruse a list of the ships of war that were equipped and made ready for sea, from the first of August, 1755, to the thirtieth day of April in the following year, with the copies of all sailing orders sent to the commanders during that period; as also the state and condition of his majesty's ships in the several ports of Great Britain at the time of admiral Byng's departure, with the squadron under his command, for the relief of Fort St. Philip, during the period of time above-mentioned, according to the monthly returns made by the admiralty, with the number of seamen mustered and borne on board the respective ships: they demanded copies of all orders and instructions given to that admiral, and of letters written to and received from him, during his continuance in that command, either by the secretaries of state or lords of the admiralty, relating to the condition of his squadron and to the execution of his orders: in a word, they required the inspection of all papers, which could in any manner tend to explain the loss

of Minorca and the miscarriage of Mr. Byng's squadron. His majesty complied with every article of their requests: the papers were presented to the house, ordered to lie on the table for the perusal of the members, and finally referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole house: in the course of their deliberations, they addressed his majesty for more information; till at length the truth seemed to be smothered under such an enormous burden of papers, as the efforts of a whole session could not have properly removed: indeed many discerning persons without doors began to despair of seeing the mystery unfolded, as soon as the inquiry was undertaken by a committee of the whole house: they observed, that an affair of such a dark, intricate, and suspicious nature ought to have been referred to a select and secret committee, chosen by ballot, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, and to examine witnesses in the most solemn and deliberate manner; that the names of the committee ought to have been published for the satisfaction of the people, who could have judged with some certainty whether the inquiry would be carried on with such impartiality as the national misfortune required: they suspected that this reference to a committee of the whole house was a mal-contrivance, to prevent a regular and minute investigation; to introduce confusion and contest; to puzzle, perplex, and obumbrate; to tease, fatigue, and disgust the inquirers; that the examination might be hurried over in a superficial and perfunctory manner; and the ministry, from this anarchy and confusion of materials, half explored and undigested, derive a general parliamentary approbation, to which they might appeal from the accusations of the people: a select committee would have probably examined some of the clerks of the respective offices, that they might certainly know whether any letters or papers had been suppressed, whether the extracts had been faithfully made, and whether there might not be papers of intelligence, which, though proper to be submitted to a select and secret committee, could not, consistently with the honor of the nation, be communicated to a committee of the whole house: indeed, it does not appear that the ministers had any foreign intelligence or correspondence that could be much depended on in any matter of national importance, and no evidence was examined on the occasion; a circumstance the less to be regretted, as, in times past, evil ministers have generally found means to render such inquiries

ineffectual ; and the same arts would at any rate have operated with the same efficacy, had a secret committee been employed at this juncture : be that as it may, several resolutions were reported from the committee, though some of them were not carried by the majority without violent dispute and severe altercation. The first and last of their resolutions require particular notice : by the former, it appeared to the committee, that his majesty, from the twenty-seventh of August, 1755, to the twentieth of April in the succeeding year, received such repeated and concurrent intelligence, as gave just reason to believe that the French king intended to invade his dominions of Great Britain or Ireland : in the latter they declared their opinion, that no greater number of ships of war could be sent into the Mediterranean than were actually sent thither under the command of admiral Byng ; nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which was sent, and the detachment, equal to a battalion, which was ordered to the relief of Fort St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the various services essential to the safety of his majesty's dominions and the interests of his subjects : it must have been something more powerful than ordinary conviction that suggested these opinions : whatever reports might have been circulated by the French ministry, in order to amuse, intimidate, and detach the attention of the English government from America and the Mediterranean, where they really intended to exert themselves ; yet, the circumstances of the two nations being considered, one would think there could have been no just grounds to fear an invasion of Great Britain or Ireland, especially when other intelligence seemed to point out much more probable scenes of action. But the last resolution is still more incomprehensible to those who know not exactly the basis on which it was raised : the number of ships of war in actual commission amounted to 250, having on board 50,000 seamen and marines : intelligence and repeated information of the French design on Minorca had been conveyed to the ministry of England about six months before it was put in execution : is it credible, that in all this time the nation could not equip or spare above eleven ships of the line and six frigates to save the important island of Minorca ? Is it easy to conceive, that from a standing army of 50,000 men, one regiment of troops could not have been detached to reinforce a garrison, well known to be insufficient for the works it was destined to defend ? To persons of common

intellects it appeared, that intelligence of th. armament at Toulon was conveyed to the admiralty as early as the month of September, 1755, with express notice that it would consist of twelve ships of the line; that the design against Minorca was communicated as early as the twenty-seventh of August, by consul Banks, of Carthagena; confirmed by letters from consul Bertes, at Genoa, dated on the seventeenth and twenty-sixth of January, and received by Mr. Fox, secretary of state, on the fourth and eleventh of February, as well as by many subsequent intimations; that, notwithstanding these repeated advices, even after hostilities had commenced in Europe, when the garrison of Minorca amounted to no more than four incomplete regiments and one company of artillery, forty-two officers being absent, and the place otherwise unprovided for a siege; when the Mediterranean squadron, commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe, consisted of two ships of the line and five frigates; neither stores, ammunition, or provision, the absent officers belonging to the garrison, recruits for the regiments, though ready raised, miners, nor any additional troops were sent to the island, nor the squadron augmented, till admiral Byng sailed from Spithead on the sixth of April, with no more ships of the line, than by the most early and authentic intelligence the government were informed would sail from Toulon, even when Mr. Byng should have been joined by commodore Edgecumbe; a junction, on which no dependence ought to have been laid; that this squadron contained no troops but such as belonged to the four regiments in garrison, except one battalion to serve in the fleet as marines, unless we include the order for another to be embarked at Gibraltar; which order was neither obeyed nor understood: that, considering the danger to which Minorca was exposed, and the forwardness of the enemy's preparations at Toulon, admiral Osborne, with thirteen ships of the line and one frigate, who returned on the sixteenth of February, after having convoyed a fleet of merchant ships, might have been detached to Minorca, without hazarding the coast of Great Britain; for at that time, exclusive of this squadron, there were eight ships of the line and thirty-two frigates ready manned, and thirty-two ships of the line and five frigates almost equipped; that admiral Hawke was sent with fourteen ships of the line and one frigate to cruise in the bay of Biscay, after repeated intelligence had been received that the French fleet had sailed for the West-Indies;

and the eleven ships remaining at Brest and Rochefort were in want of hands and cannon, so that they could never serve to cover any embarkation or descent; consequently Mr. Hawke's squadron might have been spared for the relief of Minorca: that instead of attending to this important object, the admiralty, on the eighth of March, sent two ships of the line and three frigates to intercept a coasting convoy off Cape Barfleur; on the eleventh of the same month they detached two ships of the line to the West-Indies, and on the nineteenth two more to North-America, where they could be of little immediate service; on the twenty-third two of the line and three frigates a convoy-hunting off Cherburg; and on the first of April five ships of the line, including three returned from this last service, to reinforce Sir Edward Hawke, already too strong for the French fleet bound to Canada: that all these ships might have been added to Mr. Byng's squadron, without exposing Great Britain or Ireland to any hazard of invasion: that at length Mr. Byng was detached with ten great ships only, and even denied a frigate to repeat signals, for which he petitioned; although at that very time there was in port, exclusive of his squadron, seventeen ships of the line and thirteen frigates ready for sea, besides eleven of the line and nineteen frigates almost equipped. From these and other circumstances, particularised and urged with great vivacity, many individuals inferred that a greater number of ships might have been detached to the Mediterranean than were actually sent with admiral Byng: that the not sending an earlier and stronger force was one great cause of Minorca's being lost; and co-operated with the delay of the ministry in sending thither reinforcements of troops, their neglect in suffering the officers of the garrison to continue absent from their duty, and their omitting to give orders for raising miners to serve in the fortress of Mahon.

37. The next inquiry in which the house of commons engaged related to the contracts for victualling the forces in America, which were supposed by some patriots to be fraudulent and unconscionable: this suspicion arose from an ambiguous expression, on which the contractor, being interrogated by the committee appointed to examine the particulars, prudently interpreted it in such a manner as to screen himself from the resentment of the legislature: the house therefore resolved that the contract entered into on the twenty-sixth of March, 1756, by the commissioners of

the treasury, with William Baker, Christopher Kilby, and Richard Baker of London, merchants, for furnishing provisions to the forces under the command of the earl of Loudoun, was prudent and necessary, and properly adapted to the securing a constant and effectual supply for those forces in America.

38. The preceding session an address had been presented to the king by the house of commons, desiring his majesty would give orders for laying before them several papers relating to disputes which had lately happened between his excellency Charles Knowles, Esq. and some of the principal inhabitants of the island of Jamaica: this governor was accused of many illegal, cruel, and arbitrary acts during the course of his administration; but these imputations he incurred by an exertion of power, which was in itself laudable, and well intended for the commercial interest of the island: this was his changing the seat of government, and procuring an act of assembly for removing the several laws, records, books, papers, and writings belonging to several offices in that island, from Spanish Town to Kingston; and for obliging the several officers to keep their offices and hold a supreme court of judicature at this last place, to which he had moved the seat of government. Spanish Town, otherwise called St. Jago de la Vega, the old capital, was an inconsiderable inland place, of no security, trade, or importance; whereas Kingston was the centre of commerce; situated on the side of a fine harbor filled with ships; well secured from the insults of any enemy; large, wealthy, and flourishing: here the merchants dwell, and ship the greatest part of the sugars that grow on the island: they found it extremely inconvenient and expensive to take out their clearances at Spanish Town, which stands at a considerable distance; and the same inconvenience and expense being felt by the rest of the inhabitants, who had occasion to prosecute suits at law or attend the assembly of the island, they joined in representations to the governor, requesting that, in consideration of these inconveniences, added to that of the weakness of Spanish Town and the importance of Kingston, the seat of government might be removed: he complied with their request; and in so doing entailed on himself the hatred and resentment of certain powerful planters, who possessed estates in and about the old town of St. Jago de la Vega, thus deserted: this seems to have been the real source of the animosity and clamor incurred by Mr. Knowles, against

whom a petition, signed by nineteen members of the assembly, had been sent to England, and presented to his majesty. In the two sessions preceding this year the affair had been brought into the house of commons, where this governor's character was painted in frightful colors, and divers papers relating to the dispute were examined: Mr. Knowles having by this time returned to England, the subject of his administration was revived, and referred to a committee of the whole house: in the mean time, petitions were presented by several merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the trade to Jamaica, alleging that the removal of the public courts, offices, and records of the island of Jamaica to Kingston, and fixing the seat of government there, had been productive of many important advantages, by rendering the strength of the island more formidable, the property of the traders and inhabitants more secure, and the prosecution of all commercial business more expeditious and less expensive than formerly; therefore praying that the purposes of the act passed in Jamaica for that end might be carried into effectual execution in such manner as the house should think proper: the committee, having examined a great number of papers, agreed to some resolutions, importing that a certain resolution of the assembly of Jamaica, dated on the twenty-ninth of October, 1753, implying a claim of right in that assembly to raise and apply public money without the consent of the governor and council, was illegal, repugnant to the terms of his majesty's commission to his governor of the said island, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and people of Great Britain: that the last six resolutions taken in the assembly of Jamaica, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1753, proceeded on a manifest misapprehension of the king's instruction to his governor, requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his majesty's prerogative or the property of his subjects might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unless there should be a clause inserted, suspending the execution of such bill until his majesty's pleasure should be known: that such instruction was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the subjects in Jamaica. From these resolutions the reader may perceive the nature of the dispute which had arisen between the people of Jamaica and their governor, vice-admiral Knowles,

whose conduct on this occasion seems to have been justified by the legislature: the parliament, however, forbore to determine the question, whether the removal of the courts of judicature from Spanish Town to Kingston was a measure calculated for the interest of the island in general.

39. The last subject which we shall mention as having fallen under the cognisance of the commons during this session of parliament, was the state of Milford-haven on the coast of Wales, one of the most capacious, safe, and commodious harbors in Great Britain: here the country affords many conveniences for building ships of war, and erecting forts, docks, quays, and magazines: it might be fortified at a very small expense, so as to be quite secure from any attempts of the enemy, and rendered by far the most useful harbor in the kingdom for fleets, cruisers, trading-ships, and packet-boats, bound to and from the westward; for from hence they may put to sea almost with any wind, and even at low water: they may weather Scilly and Cape Clear when no vessel can stir from the British channel, or out of the French ports of Brest and Rochefort; and as a post can travel from hence in three days to London, it might become the centre of very useful sea intelligence. A petition from several merchants in London was presented, and recommended to the house in a message from the king, specifying the advantages of this harbor, and the small expense at which it might be fortified; and praying that the house would take this important subject into consideration: accordingly, a committee was appointed for this purpose, with power to send for persons, papers, and records; and every circumstance relating to it was examined with accuracy and deliberation: at length, the report being made to the house by Mr. Charles Townshend, they unanimously agreed to an address, representing to his majesty, that many great losses had been sustained by the trade of the kingdom, in time of war, from the want of a safe harbor on the western coast of the island, for the reception and protection of merchant ships, and sending out cruisers: that the harbor of Milford-haven, in the county of Pembroke, is most advantageously situated; and, if properly defended and secured, in every respect adapted to the answering those important purposes: they therefore humbly besought his majesty, that he would give immediate directions for erecting batteries, with proper cover, on the sides of the said harbor, in the most convenient places for guarding the

entrance called Hubberstone-road, and also such other fortifications as might be necessary to secure the interior parts of the harbor; and that, until such batteries and fortifications could be completed, some temporary defence might be provided for the immediate protection of the ships and vessels lying in the said harbor: finally, they assured him, the house would make good to his majesty all such expenses as should be incurred for these purposes. The address met with a gracious reception, and a promise that such directions should be given: the harbor was actually surveyed, the places were pitched on for batteries, and the estimates prepared; but no farther progress has since been made.

40. We have now finished the detail of all the material transactions of this session, except what relates to the fate of admiral Byng, which now claims our attention: in the mean time, we may observe, that on the fourth of July the session was closed with his majesty's harangue, the most remarkable and pleasing paragraph of which turned on his royal assurance, that the succor and preservation of his dominions in America had been his constant care; and, next to the security of his kingdoms, should continue to be his great and principal object: he told them he had taken such measures as, he trusted, by the blessing of God, might effectually disappoint the designs of the enemy in those parts; that he had no farther view but to vindicate the just rights of his crown and subjects from the most injurious encroachments; to preserve tranquillity, as far as the circumstances of things might admit; to prevent the true friends of Britain and the liberties of Europe from being oppressed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction.

41. Of all the transactions that distinguished this year, the most extraordinary was the sentence executed on admiral Byng, the son of that great officer who had acquired such honor by his naval exploits in the preceding reign, and was ennobled for his services by the title of lord viscount Torrington: his second son, John Byng, had from his earliest youth been trained to his father's profession, and was generally esteemed one of the best officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca, which covered his character with disgrace, and even exposed him to all the horrors of an ignominious death. On the twenty-eighth of December his trial began before a court-martial, held on board the ship *St. George*, in the harbor of Ports-

mouth, to which place Mr. Byng had been conveyed from Greenwich by a party of horse-guards, and insulted by the populace in every town and village through which he passed: the court, having proceeded to examine the evidences for the crown and the prisoner from day to day, in the course of a long sitting, agreed unanimously to thirty-seven resolutions, implying their opinion, that admiral Byng, during the engagement between the British and French fleets, on the twentieth of May last, did not do his utmost endeavor to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his majesty's ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have assisted; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of St. Philip's castle: they therefore unanimously agreed that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament passed in the twenty-second year of the present reign, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the government of his majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea; and as that article positively prescribed death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court under any variation of circumstances, they unanimously adjudged the said admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time, and on board of such ship, as the lords commissioners of the admiralty should please to direct; but as it appeared, by the evidence of the officers who were near the admiral's person, that no backwardness was perceivable in him during the action, nor any mark of fear or confusion either in his countenance or behavior; but that he delivered his orders coolly and distinctly, without seeming deficient in personal courage; and, from other circumstances, they believed his misconduct did not arise either from cowardice or disaffection; they unanimously and earnestly recommended him as a proper object of mercy. The admiral himself behaved through the whole trial with the most cheerful composure, seemingly the effect of conscious innocence, on which perhaps he too much relied: even after he had heard the evidence examined against him, and finished his own defence, he laid his account in being honorably acquitted, and ordered his coach to be ready for conveying him directly from the tribunal to London: a gentleman, his friend, by whom he was attended, having received intimation of the sentence to be pronounced, thought it his duty to prepare him for the occasion, that he might

summon all his fortitude to his assistance ; and accordingly made him acquainted with the information he had received : the admiral gave tokens of surprise and resentment, but betrayed no marks of fear or disorder, either then, or in the court when the sentence was pronounced : on the contrary, while divers members of the court-martial manifested grief, anxiety, and trepidation, shedding tears, and sighing with extraordinary emotion ; he heard his doom denounced without undergoing the least alteration of feature, and made a low obeisance to the president and the other members of the court as he retired.

42. The officers who composed this tribunal were so sensible of the law's severity, that they unanimously subscribed a letter to the board of admiralty, containing this remarkable paragraph :—' We cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under necessity of condemning a man to death, from the great severity of the twelfth article of war, part of which he falls under ; which admits of no mitigation if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment ; and, therefore, for our own consciences' sake, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships in the most earnest manner to recommend him to his majesty's clemency.' The lords of the admiralty, instead of complying with the request of the court-martial, transmitted their letter to the king, with copies of their proceedings, and a letter from themselves to his majesty, specifying a doubt with regard to the legality of the sentence ; as the crime of negligence, for which the admiral had been condemned, was not expressed in any part of the proceedings : at the same time, copies of two petitions from George lord viscount Torrington, in behalf of his kinsman admiral Byng, were submitted to his majesty's royal wisdom and determination : all the friends and relations of the unhappy convict employed and exerted their influence and interest for his pardon ; and as the circumstances had appeared so strong in his favor, it was supposed that the sceptre of royal mercy would be extended for his preservation : but infamous arts were used to whet the savage appetite of the populace for blood ; the cry of vengeance was loud throughout the land ; sullen clouds of suspicion and malevolence interposing, were said to obstruct the genial beams of the best virtue that adorns the throne ; and the sovereign was given to understand that the execution of admiral Byng was a victim absolutely

necessary to appease the fury of the people : his majesty, in consequence of the representation made by the lords of the admiralty, referred the sentence to the consideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion that the sentence was legal : this report being transmitted from the privy-council to the admiralty, their lordships issued a warrant for executing the sentence of death on the twenty-eighth of February : one gentleman at the board, however, refused to subscribe the warrant, assigning for his refusal the reasons which we have inserted by way of note, for the satisfaction of the reader.²⁰

²⁰ Admiral Forbes's reasons for not signing the warrant for Admiral Byng's execution :—

‘ It may be thought great presumption in me to differ from so great authority as that of the twelve judges ; but when a man is called on to sign his name to an act which is to give authority to the shedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conscience, and not by the opinions of other men.

‘ In the case before us, it is not the merit of admiral Byng that I consider : whether he deserves death or not, is not a question for me to decide ; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the sentence pronounced on him by the court-martial, and after having so clearly explained their motives for pronouncing such a sentence, is the point which alone has employed my serious consideration.

‘ The twelfth article of war, on which admiral Byng's sentence is grounded, says, according to my understanding of its meaning, ‘ that every person, who, in the time of action, shall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, to do his utmost, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall suffer death.’ The court-martial does, in express words, acquit admiral Byng of cowardice and disaffection, and does not name the word negligence : admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or description of the twelfth article of war. It may be said, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned ; otherwise the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article, having acquitted him of cowardice and disaffection : but it must be acknowledged that the negligence implied cannot be wilful negligence ; for wilful negligence, in admiral Byng's situation, must have proceeded either from cowardice or disaffection, and he is expressly acquitted of both these crimes ; besides, these crimes, which are implied only and not named, may indeed justify suspicion and private opinion, but cannot satisfy the conscience in case of blood.

‘ Admiral Byng's fate was referred to a court-martial ; his life and death were left to their opinions : the court-martial condemned him to death, because, as they expressly say, they were under a necessity of doing so by reason of the letter of the law, the

43. Though mercy was denied to the criminal, the crown seemed determined to do nothing that should be thought inconsistent with law : a member of parliament, who had sat on the court-martial at Portsmouth, rose up in his place, and made application to the house of commons in behalf of himself and several other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legislature to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed on courts-martial, that they might disclose the grounds on which sentence of death had passed on admiral Byng, and perhaps discover such circumstances as might show the sentence to be improper : although this application produced no resolution in the house, the king, on the twenty-sixth of February, sent a message to the commons by Mr. secretary Pitt, importing, that though he had determined to let the law take its course with relation

severity of which they complained of, because it admits of no mitigation : the court-martial expressly say, that for the sake of their consciences, as well as in justice to the prisoner, they must earnestly recommend him to his majesty for mercy ; it is evident then, that in the opinions and consciences of the judges he was not deserving of death.

‘ The question then is, shall the opinions or necessities of the court-martial determine admiral Byng’s fate ? If it should be the latter, he will be executed contrary to the intentions and meaning of his judges ; if the former, his life is not forfeited : his judges declare him not deserving of death ; but, mistaking either the meaning of the law or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war, which, according to their own description of his offence, he does not, I conceive, fall under ; and then they condemn him to death, because, as they say, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man’s life be taken away by such a sentence ? I would not willingly be misunderstood, and have it believed that I judge of admiral Byng’s deserts : that was the business of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my conscience, which, after deliberate consideration, assisted by the best light a poor understanding can afford it, remains still in doubt ; and therefore I cannot consent to sign a warrant whereby the sentence of the court-martial may be carried into execution ; for I cannot help thinking, that however criminal admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that sentence. I do not mean to find fault with other men’s opinions ; all I endeavor at, is to give reasons for my own ; and all I desire or wish is, that I may not be misunderstood : I do not pretend to judge admiral Byng’s deserts, nor to give any opinion on the propriety of the act.

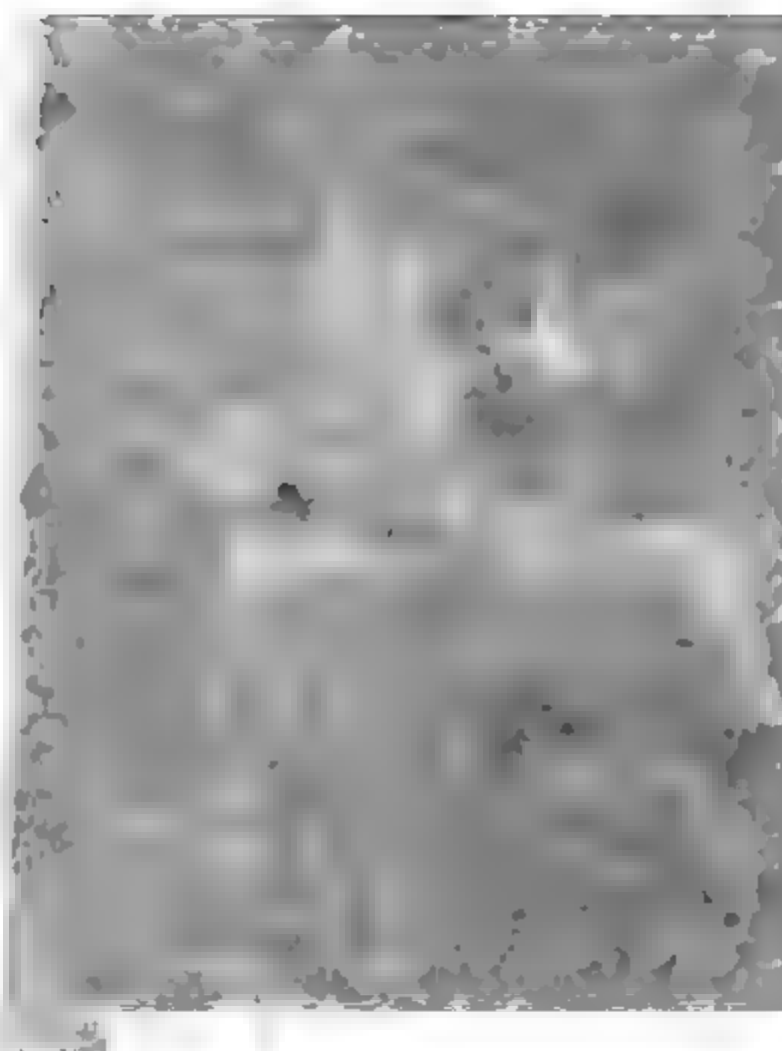
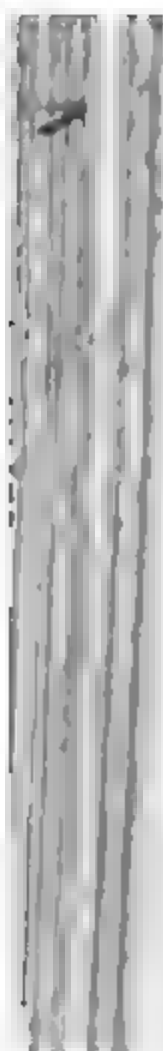
‘ Signed, Feb. 6, 1757, at the Admiralty.

‘ J. FORBES.’

to admiral Byng, and resisted all solicitations to the contrary; yet, as a member of the house had expressed some scruples about the sentence, his majesty had thought fit to respite the execution of it, that there might be an opportunity of knowing, by the separate examination of the members of the court-martial on oath, what grounds there were for such scruples; and that his majesty was resolved still to let the sentence be carried into execution, unless it should appear from the said examination that admiral Byng was unjustly condemned. The sentence might be strictly legal, and at the same time very severe, according to the maxim, *summum jus, summa injuria*: in such cases, and perhaps in such cases only, the rigor of the law ought to be softened by the lenient hand of the royal prerogative: that this was the case of admiral Byng, appears from the warm and eager intercession of his jury; a species of intercession, which has generally, if not always, prevailed at the foot of the throne, when any thing favorable for the criminal had appeared in the course of the trial: how much more then might it have been expected to succeed, when earnestly urged as a case of conscience in behalf of a man, whom his judges had expressly acquitted of cowardice and treachery,—the only two imputations that rendered him criminal in the eyes of the nation! Such an interposition of the crown in parliamentary transactions was irregular, unnecessary, and at another juncture might have been productive of violent heats and declamation: at present, however, it passed without censure, as the effect of inattention, rather than a design to encroach on the privileges of the house.

44. The message being communicated, a bill was immediately brought in to release the members of the court-martial from the obligation of secrecy, and passed through the lower house without opposition; but in the house of lords it appeared to be destitute of a proper foundation: they sent a message to the commons, desiring them to give leave, that such of the members of the court-martial as were members of that house might attend their lordships, in order to be examined on the second reading of the bill; accordingly they and the rest of the court-martial attended, and answered all questions without hesitation: as they did not insist on any excuse, nor produce any satisfactory reason for showing that the man they had condemned was a proper object of mercy, their lordships were of opinion that there was no occasion for passing any such bill, which therefore





they almost unanimously rejected. It is not easy to conceive what stronger reasons could be given for proving Mr. Byng an object of mercy, than those mentioned in the letter sent to the board of admiralty by the members of the court-martial, who were empowered to try the imputed offence, consequently must have been deemed well qualified to judge of his conduct.

45. The unfortunate admiral, being thus abandoned to the stroke of justice, prepared himself for death with resignation and tranquillity: he maintained a surprising cheerfulness to the last; nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the least sign of impatience or apprehension: during that interval he had remained on board of the *Monarque*, a third-rate ship of war, anchored in the harbor of Portsmouth, under a strong guard, in custody of the marshal of the admiralty: on the fourteenth of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this solemnity in the harbor, which was also crowded with an infinite number of other boats and vessels filled with spectators: about noon, the admiral, having taken leave of a clergyman and two friends who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the sentence: he advanced with a firm and deliberate step, a composed and resolute countenance, and resolved to suffer with his face uncovered; until his friends representing that his looks would possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to their request, threw his hat on the deck, kneeled on a cushion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a signal for his executioners, who fired a volley so decisive, that five balls passed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an instant: the time in which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being deposited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes.

46. Thus fell, to the astonishment of all Europe, admiral John Byng, who, whatever his errors and indiscretions might have been, seems to have been rashly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to vile considerations: the sentiments of his own fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cause of dissimulation, in the following declaration, which imme-



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diately before his death he delivered to the marshal of the admiralty :—‘ A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent persecution, and frustrate the farther malice of my enemies ; nor need I envy them a life, subject to the sensations my injuries and the injustice done me must create : persuaded I am that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter : the manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamor and prejudice against me will be seen through : I shall be considered, as I now perceive myself, a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects : my enemies themselves must now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my last moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conscious that no part of my country’s misfortunes can be owing to me : I heartily wish the shedding of my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country ; but cannot resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty according to the best of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of my ability for his majesty’s honor and my country’s service : I am sorry that my endeavors were not attended with more success, and that the armament under my command proved too weak to succeed in any expedition of such moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falsehood, and justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of my supposed want of personal courage, and the charge of disaffection : my heart acquits me of these crimes ; but who can be presumptuously sure of his own judgment ? If my crime is an error in judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges, and if yet the error in judgment should be on their side, God forgive them, as I do ; and may the distress of their minds, and uneasiness of their consciences, which in justice to me they have represented, be relieved and subside, as my resentment has done : the supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives ; and to him I must submit the justice of my cause.’

47. Notwithstanding all that has been said in his favor, notwithstanding the infamous arts that were practised to keep up the cry against him, notwithstanding this solemn appeal to Heaven in his last moments, and even self-conviction of innocence, the character of admiral Byng, in point of personal courage, will still with many people remain problematical : they will still be of opinion, that if the spirit of a British admiral had been properly exerted, the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca relieved : a

man's opinion of danger varies at different times, in consequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits; and he is actuated by considerations which he dares not avow: after an officer, thus influenced, has hesitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial, the mind, eager for its own justification, assembles with surprising industry every favorable circumstance of excuse, and broods over them with parental partiality; until it becomes not only satisfied, but even enamored of their beauty and complexion, like a doting mother, blind to the deformity of her own offspring. Whatever Mr. Byng's internal feelings might have been; whatever consequences might have attended his behavior on that occasion; as the tribunal before which he was tried acquitted him expressly of cowardice and treachery, he was without all doubt a proper object for royal clemency, and so impartial posterity will judge him, after all those dishonorable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, shall be lost in oblivion or remembered with disdain. The people of Great Britain, naturally fierce, impatient, and clamorous, have been too much indulged, on every petty miscarriage, with trials, courts-martial, and dismissions; which tend only to render their military commanders rash and precipitate, the populace more licentious and intractable, and to disgrace the national character in the opinion of mankind.

CHAP. XXVII.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1757.

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge taken into the administration—2. bliged to resign—3. Restored to their employments—4. Coalition of parties—5. Descent on the coast of France meditated—6. Command of the fleet given to Sir Edward Hawke, and of the land forces to Sir John Mordaunt. Fleet sails, September 8.—7. Admiral Knowles sent to take Aix—8. Attack and surrender of Aix—9. A descent resolved on—10. The fleet returns to Spithead. His majesty appoints a board of inquiry into the reasons of the fleet's return—11. Proceedings of the court of inquiry—12. Its report—13. Sir John Mordaunt tried by a court-martial and acquitted—14. Fleets sent to the East and West-Indies—15. Success of the English privateers—16. Riots occasioned by the high price of corn—17. Operations in America—18. Lord Loudoun's conduct in America—19. Fort William Henry taken by the French—20. Naval transactions in America—21. Attempt of M. de Kersin on Cape Coast Castle, in Africa—22. State of affairs in the East-Indies. Calcutta recovered. The suba's camp forced, and a new treaty concluded with him—23. Reduction of Chandernagore—24. Colonel Clive defeats the suba at Plaissey, who is afterwards deposed and put to death—25. King of France assassinated. Tortures inflicted on the assassin—26. Changes in the French ministry—27. State of the confederacy against the king of Prussia—28. Precautions taken by his Prussian majesty—29. Skirmishes between the Prussians and Austrians—30. Neutrality of the emperor and behavior of the Dutch—31. The French take possession of several towns in the Low Countries belonging to the king of Prussia—32. Declaration of the czarina against the king of Prussia. Factions in Poland—33. Fruitless endeavors of the English to restore the tranquillity of Germany—34. King of Prussia enters Bohemia. Prince of Bevern defeats the Austrians at Richenburg—35. King of Prussia gains a complete victory over the Austrians near Prague. Marshal Schwerin killed—36. Prague invested,—37. and bombarded. Brave defence of the besieged—38. Count Daun takes the command of the Austrian army: his character—39. King of Prussia defeated at Kolin—40. He raises the siege of Prague, and quits Bohemia—41. Preparations for the defence of Hanover. The allied army assembles under the duke of Cumberland—42. Skirmishes with the French—43. Duke of Cumberland passes the Weser: the French follow him, and take Minden and Emden, and lay Hanover under contribution—44. Battle of Hastenbeck—45. The French take Hamelen. Duke de Riche-

lieu supersedes marshal d'Etrées in the command of the French army—46. The French take possession of Hanover and Hesse-Cassel,—47. and reduce Verden and Bremen. Duke of Cumberland signs the convention of Closter-Seven.

1. **THOUGH** the parliament of Great Britain unanimously concurred in strengthening the hands of government for a vigorous prosecution of the war, those liberal supplies had like to have proved ineffectual through a want of harmony in her councils: in the course of the last year the clamorous voice of dissatisfaction had been raised by a series of disappointments and miscarriages, which were imputed to want of intelligence, sagacity, and vigor in the administration: the defeat of Braddock, the reduction of Oswego and other forts in America, the delay of armaments, the neglect of opportunities, ineffectual cruises, absurd dispositions of fleets and squadrons, the disgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca, were numbered among the misfortunes that flowed from the crude designs of a weak, dispirited ministry; and the prospect of their acquiescing in a continental war brought them still farther in contempt and detestation with the body of the people: in order to conciliate the good-will of those whom their conduct had disobliged, to acquire a fresh stock of credit with their fellow-subjects, and remove from their own shoulders part of what future censure might ensue, they admitted into a share of the administration a certain set of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, esteemed the two most illustrious patriots of Great Britain, alike distinguished and admired for their unconquerable spirit and untainted integrity: the former of these was appointed secretary of state, the other chancellor of the exchequer; and their friends were vested with other honorable though subordinate offices.

2. So far the people were charmed with the promotion of individuals, on whose virtues and abilities they had the most perfect reliance; but these new ingredients would never thoroughly mix with the old leaven: the administration became an emblem of the image that Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream; the leg was of iron, and the foot was of clay: the old junto found their new associates very unfit for their purposes: they could neither persuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into measures which they thought repugnant to the true interest of their country: the new ministers combated in

council every such plan, however patronised; they openly opposed in parliament every design which they deemed unworthy of the crown, or prejudicial to the people, even though distinguished by the predilection of the sovereign: far from bargaining for their places, and surrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their independence and candor with the most vigilant circumspection, and seemed determined to show that he is the best minister to the sovereign who acts with the greatest probity towards the subject. Those who immediately surrounded the throne were supposed to have concealed the true characters of these faithful servants from the knowledge of their royal master; to have represented them as obstinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and to have declared, that with such colleagues it would be impossible to move the machine of government according to his majesty's inclination: these suggestions, artfully inculcated, produced the desired effect: on the ninth of April, Mr. Pitt, by his majesty's command, resigned the seals of secretary of state for the southern department: in the room of Mr. Legge, the king was pleased to grant the office of chancellor of the exchequer to the right honorable lord Mansfield, chief justice of the court of king's-bench; the same personage whom we have mentioned before under the name of Mr. Murray, solicitor-general, now promoted and ennobled for his extraordinary merit and important services. The fate of Mr. Pitt was extended to some of his principal friends: the board of admiralty was changed, and some other removals were made with the same intention.

3. What was intended as a disgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge turned out one of the most shining circumstances of their characters: the whole nation seemed to rise up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame; every mouth was opened in their praise; and a great number of respectable cities and corporations presented them with the freedom of their respective societies, enclosed in gold boxes of curious workmanship, as testimonies of their peculiar veneration. What the people highly esteem, they in a manner idolise: not contented with making offerings so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present distressful circumstances, who had brought on her dishonor, and reduced her to the

verge of destruction, were by no means the fit instruments of her delivery and redemption: the whole kingdom caught fire at the late changes; nor could the power, the cunning, and the artifice of a faction long support itself against the united voice of Great Britain, which soon pierced the ears of the sovereign: it was not possible to persuade the people that salutary measures could be suggested or pursued, except by the few, whose zeal for the honor of their country, and steady adherence to an upright, disinterested conduct, had secured their confidence and claimed their veneration: a great number of addresses, dutifully and loyally expressed, solicited the king, ever ready to meet half-way the wishes of his faithful people, to restore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments: on this they rested the security and honor of the nation, as well as the public expectation of the speedy and successful issue of a war, hitherto attended with disgraces and misfortunes: accordingly, his majesty was graciously pleased to redeliver the seals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him secretary of state for the southern department, on the twenty-ninth of June; and, five days after, the office of chancellor of the exchequer was restored to Mr. Legge; promotions that afforded universal satisfaction.

4. It would not perhaps be possible to exclude from a share in the administration all who were not perfectly agreeable to the people: however unpopular the late ministry might appear, still they possessed sufficient influence in the privy-council, and credit in the house of commons, to thwart every measure in which they did not themselves partake: this consideration, and very recent experience, probably dictated the necessity of a coalition, salutary in itself and prudent, because it was the only means of assuaging the rage of faction, and healing those divisions, more pernicious to the public than the most mistaken and blundering councils. Sir Robert Henley was made lord-keeper of the great seal, and sworn of his majesty's privy-council, on the thirteenth of June; the custody of the privy-seal was committed to earl Temple; his grace, the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, lord viscount Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville were appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer; lord Anson, admirals Boscawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. West, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, to preside at the board of admiralty; Mr. Fox was gratified with the office of receiver and paymaster-general of all his majesty's

guards, garrisons, and land-forces; and the earl of Thomond was made treasurer of the king's household, and sworn of his majesty's privy-council: other promotions likewise took place, with a design to gratify the adherents of either party; and so equally was the royal favor distributed, that the utmost harmony for a long time subsisted: ingredients, seemingly heterogeneous, consolidated into one uniform mass, so as to produce effects far exceeding the most sanguine expectations; and this prudent arrangement proved displeasing only to those, whom violent party attachment had inspired with a narrow and exclusive spirit.

5. The accumulated losses and disappointments of the preceding year made it absolutely necessary to retrieve the credit of the British arms and councils by some vigorous and spirited enterprise, which should at the same time produce some change in the circumstances of his Prussian majesty, already depressed by the repulse of Kolin, and in danger of being attacked by the whole power of France, now ready to fall on him, like a torrent, which had so lately swept before it the army of observation, now on the brink of disgrace: a well-planned and vigorous descent on the coast of France it was thought would probably give a decisive blow to the marine of that kingdom, and at the same time effect a powerful diversion in favor of the Prussian monarch and the duke of Cumberland, driven from all his posts in the electorate of Hanover, by drawing a part of the French forces to the defence and protection of their own coasts: both were objects of great concern, on which the sovereign and ministry were sedulously bent: his royal highness, the duke, in a particular manner urged the necessity of some enterprise of this nature, as the only expedient to obviate the shameful convention now in agitation: the ministry foresaw, that by destroying the enemy's shipping, all succors would be cut off from America, whither they were daily transporting troops; the British commerce secured, without those convoys so inconvenient to the board of admiralty and to the merchants; and those ideal fears of an invasion, that had in some measure affected the public credit, wholly dispelled.

6. From these considerations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the isle of Wight: the naval armament, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports,

was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an officer, whose faithful services recommended him above all others to this command; and rear-admiral Knowles was appointed his subaltern: Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land forces; and both strictly enjoined to act with the utmost unanimity and harmony. Europe beheld with astonishment these mighty preparations: the destination of the armament was wrapped in the most profound secrecy: it exercised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very serious alarms: various were the impediments which obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks, while Mr. Pitt expressed the greatest uneasiness at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander in chief to expedite his departure; but a sufficient number of transports, owing to some blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived: the troops expressed an eager impatience to signalise themselves against the enemies of the liberties of Europe, but the superstitious drew unfavorable presages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation: at last, the transports arrived; the troops were put on board with all expedition; and the fleet got under sail on the eighth of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and solicitous for her honor: the public, big with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its success, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the fourteenth, that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a descent was meditated on the coast of France, near Rochefort or Rochelle.

7. On the twentieth the fleet made the isle of Oleron, and then Sir Edward Hawke sent an order to vice-admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Basque-road, to stand in as near to the isle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with such ships of his division as he thought necessary for the service; and to batter the fort till the garrison should either abandon or surrender it: but the immediate execution of this order was frustrated by a French ship of war's standing in to the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that station for some time before she discovered her mistake, or any of the captains had a signal thrown out to give chase: admiral Knowles, when too late, ordered the *Magnanime*, captain Howe, and Torbay, captain Keppel, on that service, and thereby retarded the attack on which he was immediately sent: a stroke of policy

greatly to be admired ; as from hence he gained time to assure himself of the strength of the fortifications of Aix, before he ran his majesty's ships into danger.

8. While the above ships, with the addition of the Royal William, were attending the French ship of war safe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to windward off the isle of Oleron, and the commander in chief publishing orders and regulations which did credit to his judgment, and would have been highly useful, had there ever been occasion to put them in execution : on the twenty-third, the van of the fleet, led by captain Howe in the *Magnanime*, stood towards Aix, a small island situated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half finished, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garrison composed of 600 men, and the whole island about five miles in circumference : as the *Magnanime* approached, the enemy fired briskly on her ; but captain Howe, regardless of their faint endeavors, kept on his course without flinching, dropped his anchors close to the walls, and poured in so incessant a fire as soon silenced their artillery : it was, however, near an hour before the fort struck, when some forces were landed to take possession of so important a conquest, with orders to demolish the fortifications, the care of which was entrusted to vice-admiral Knowles.

9. Inconsiderable as this success might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed a happy omen of farther advantages ; but, instead of embarking the troops that night, as was universally expected, several successive days were spent in councils of war, soundings of the coast, and deliberations whether the king's express orders were practicable or to be complied with : eight days were elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast, and the alarm was given to the enemy : Sir Edward Hawke indeed proposed laying a sixty-gun ship against Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to secure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprise on Rochefort : this a French pilot on board, Thierry, undertook ; but after a ship had been lighted for the purpose, vice-admiral Knowles reported that a bomb-ketch had run aground at above the distance of two miles from the fort ; on which, the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned : the admiral likewise proposed to bombard Rochelle ; but this overture was over-ruled for reasons which we need not men-

tion : it was at length determined, in a council of war held on the eighth, to make a descent, and attack the forts leading to and on the mouth of the river Charente : an order, in consequence of this resolution, was immediately issued for the troops to be ready to embark from the transports in the boats precisely at twelve o'clock at night : accordingly, the boats were prepared, and filled with the men at the time appointed ; and now they remained beating against each other and the sides of the ships for the space of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they should land ; when, at length, an order was published for the troops to return to their respective transports ; and all thoughts of a descent, to appearance, were wholly abandoned : the succeeding days were employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Aix ; after which, the land officers, in a council of war, took the final resolution of returning to England without any farther attempts, fully satisfied they had done all in their power to execute the designs of the ministry ; and choosing rather to oppose the frowns of an angry sovereign, the murmurs of an incensed nation, and the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of dastardly militia : such was the issue of an expedition, that raised the expectation of all Europe, threw the coasts of France into the utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little less than a million of money.

10. The fleet was no sooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment : the public expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch, and now the disappointment was proportioned to the sanguine hopes conceived that the pride of France would have been humbled by so formidable an armament : the ministry, and with them the national voice, exclaimed against the commanding officers ; and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprise, who had put the nation to great expense before they had obtained the necessary information : certain it was, that blame must fall somewhere, and the ministry resolved to acquit themselves, and fix the accusation, by requesting his majesty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to inquire into the causes of the late miscarriage : this alone it was that could appease the public clamors, and afford general satisfaction : the enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavored to wrest the miscarriages of the expedition to his prejudice ; but the whispers of faction were soon drowned in the voice of the whole

people of England, who never could persuade themselves that a gentleman, raised to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of superior merit, integrity, and disinterestedness, would now sacrifice his reputation by a mock armament; or hazard incurring the derision of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the necessary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the success of the expedition. It was asked whether reason or justice dictated, that a late unfortunate admiral should be capitally punished for not trying and exerting his utmost ability to relieve Fort St. Philip, vested by a powerful army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought against those who occasioned the miscarriage of a well-concerted and well appointed expedition? The people, they said, were not to be quieted with the resolutions of a council of war, composed of men, whose inactivity might frame excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger: it was publicly mentioned, that such backwardness appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the isle of Oleron, as occasioned the admiral to declare with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Basqueroad, whatever might be the consequence. It was asked why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth, and whether the officers sent out to reconnoitre had returned with such intelligence as seemed to render a descent impracticable? It was asked, whether the commander in chief had complied with his majesty's orders, — 'to attempt, as far as should be found practicable, a descent on the coast of France, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack, and by a vigorous impression force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of his power, all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, as shall be found there?' Such rumors as these, every where propagated, rendered an inquiry no less necessary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition than to the minister who had projected it: accordingly, a board, consisting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, was appointed by his majesty, to inquire into the reasons why the fleet returned without having executed his majesty's orders.

11. The three general officers, who met on the twenty-first of the same month, were Charles, duke of Marlborough, lieutenant-general; major-generals lord George Sackville and John Waldegrave. To judge of the practicability of executing his majesty's orders, it was necessary to inquire

into the nature of the intelligence on which the expedition was projected: the first and most important was a letter sent to Sir John, afterwards lord Ligonier, by lieutenant-colonel Clark: this letter had been frequently examined in the privy-council, and contained in substance, that colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar, in the year 1754, had travelled along the western coast of France, to observe the condition of the fortifications, and judge how far a descent would be practicable in case of a rupture between Great Britain and France: on his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest part of a good rampart, with a *revêtement*, flanked only with redans; no outworks, no covered way, and, in many places, no ditch; so that the bottom of the wall was seen at a distance: he remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a considerable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw a great advantage: that for above the length of a front, or 200 or 300 yards, there was no rampart, or even intrenchment, but only small ditches, in the low and marshy grounds next the river, which, however, were dry at low water; yet the bottom remained muddy and slimy: towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet on either side appeared; and on the land side he observed some high ground within the distance of 150 or 200 yards of the town; in which condition the colonel was told by the engineer the place had remained for above seventy years: to prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few sketches he had by him; however, as to utility, the colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had taken a plan: he could not ascertain the direct height of the rampart, but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet: the river might be about 130 feet broad, and the entrance defended by two or three small redoubts: as to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the colonel was on the spot, amounted to about 1000. This was the first intelligence the ministry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded sufficient room to believe that an attack by surprise might be attended with happy consequences: it was true, that colonel Clark made his observations in time of peace; but it was likewise probable that no great alterations were made on account of the war, as the place had remained

in the same condition during the last two or three wars with France, when they had the same reasons as now to expect their coasts would be insulted. The next information was obtained from Joseph Thierry, a French pilot, of the protestant religion, who passed several examinations before the privy-council: this person declared that he had followed the business of a pilot on the coast of France for the space of twenty years, and served as first pilot in several of the king's ships: that he had, in particular, piloted the *Magnanime*, before she was taken by the English, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the isle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which indeed is so easy as to render a pilot almost unnecessary: the road, he said, afforded good anchorage in twelve or fourteen fathoms water, as far as Bayonne; the channel between the islands of Oleron and Rhé was three leagues broad, and the banks necessary to be avoided lay near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is easily discerned by the breakers: he affirmed, that the largest vessels might draw up close to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the *Magnanime* alone should destroy; that the largest ships might come up to the Vigerot, two miles distant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and stores; that men might be landed to the north of Fort Fouras, out of sight of the fort, on a meadow where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet: this landing-place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no way intercepted by ditches and morasses: he said, great part of the city was encompassed by a wall; but towards the river, on both sides, for about sixty paces, it was enclosed only with palisades, without a fossé. To the intelligence of colonel Clark and Thierry, the minister added a secret account obtained of the strength and distribution of the French forces, whence it appeared highly probable that no more than 10,000 men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coast from St. Valery to Bourdeaux: in consequence of the above information the secret expedition was planned; instructions were given to Sir John Mordaunt and admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impression on the French coast, and all the other measures projected, which it was imagined would make an effectual diversion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, disturb and shake the credit of their public loans, impair the strength

and resources of their navy, disconcert their extensive and dangerous operations of war, and, finally, give life, strength, and lustre to the common cause and his majesty's arms. The board of inquiry took next into consideration the several letters and explanatory instructions sent to Sir John Mordaunt, in consequence of some difficulties which might possibly occur, stated by that general in letters to the minister previous to his sailing: then they examined the report made to Sir Edward Hawke by admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war sent to sound the French shore from Rochelle to Fort Fouras, dated September the twenty-ninth; the result of the councils of war on the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth; Sir Edward Hawke's letter to Sir John Mordaunt on the twenty-seventh, and the general's answer on the twenty-ninth: after which, Sir John Mordaunt was called on to give his reasons for not putting his majesty's instructions and orders in execution: this he did in substance as follows:—the attempt on Rochefort, he understood, was to have been on the footing of a *coup de main*, or surprise, which it would be impossible to execute if the design was discovered, or the alarm taken: he also understood that an attempt could not be made, nay, that his majesty did not require it should, unless a proper place for debarking and a safe retreat for the troops was discovered, particularly where the ships could protect them; and a safe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of supplies from it, were found: his sentiments, he said, were confirmed by a paper to this purpose, delivered to him by Sir John Ligonier, on his first being appointed to command the expedition: it was likewise probable, he thought, that although Rochefort should have remained in the situation in which colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had seen it three years before, yet that a few days' preparation could make it sufficiently defensible against a *coup de main*: judging, therefore, the dependence on such an operation alone improper, he applied to the ministry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place, which, from its construction, appeared as difficult to be made defensible against the latter as easily secured against the former: but this request being refused, he still thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing on which the expedition was planned, especially as he understood his instructions were discretionary, regarding the circumstances of the time, the condition of the place, and the nature of the service: he

recited the positive and credible intelligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage; of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coasts, from Brest and St. Maloes to Rochefort; the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coasts, and prevented the possibility of an attempt by surprise; the reports of all the gentlemen employed in sounding the coasts, so contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot; the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred; the endeavors used, after the twenty-sixth, to find out some expedient for annoying the enemy and executing his majesty's instructions; the attempt made to land, in consequence of the resolution of the second council of war, which was prevented by boisterous and stormy weather; and, lastly, the reasons that determined him, in concert with the other land officers, to return to England.

12. Having considered all these circumstances, and examined several officers who served in the expedition, the court of inquiry gave in the following report to his majesty:—‘It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed is, the not attacking Fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeably to the first design; which certainly must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your majesty's instructions into execution: it was at first resolved by admiral Hawke, Thierry the pilot having undertaken the safe conduct of a ship to Fort Fouras for that purpose; but afterwards laid aside, on the representation of vice-admiral Knowles, that the *Barfleur*, the ship designed for that service, was aground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore; but as neither Sir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information on that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinion thereon: we conceive another cause of the failure of the expedition to have been, that, instead of attempting to land, when the report was received, on the twenty-fourth of September, from rear-admiral Broderick and the captains who had been out to sound and reconnoitre, a council of war was summoned, and held on the twenty-fifth, in which it was unanimously resolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither advisable or practicable; but it does not appear to us that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on shore sufficient to have prevented the attempting

a descent, in pursuance of the instructions signed by your majesty; neither does it appear to us that there were any reasons sufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was so changed in respect to its strength or posture of defence since the expedition was first resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack on the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, in obedience to your majesty's command: and we think ourselves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reason could have existed sufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimously resolved to land with all possible despatch: we beg leave also to remark, that after its being unanimously resolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the resolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the said council; but as the whole operation was of so inconsiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your majesty as a cause of the failure of the expedition; since we cannot but look on the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aside in the council of war of the twenty-fifth.'

13. This report, signed by the general officers, Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldegrave, probably laid the foundation for the court-martial which sat soon after on the conduct of the commander in chief of the expedition: the enemies of the minister made a handle of the miscarriage to lessen him in the esteem of the public, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project so expensive to the nation, on intelligence not only slight at the first view, but false on farther examination; but the people were still his advocates; they discerned something mysterious in the whole conduct of the commander in chief: they plainly perceived that caution took place of vigor, and that the hours for action were spent in deliberations and councils of war: had he debarked the troops, and made such an attack as would have distinguished his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unsuccessful, though prudence perhaps might have condemned him: even Braddock's rashness they deemed preferable to Mordaunt's inactivity; the loss of so many brave lives was thought less injurious and disgraceful to the nation than the too safe return of the present armament: the one demonstrated that the British spirit still existed; the other seemed to indicate

the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and those manners which tend to debauch and emasculate the mind. A public trial of the commander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciously granted by his majesty: it is even thought that Sir John Mordaunt himself demanded to have his conduct scrutinised, by which method alone he was sensible his character could be re-established: his majesty's warrant for holding a court-martial was accordingly signed on the third of December: the court was composed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and three colonels, who sat on the fourteenth, and continued, by several adjournments, to the twentieth: lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt came prisoner before the court, and the following charge was exhibited against him; namely, that he, being appointed by the king commander in chief of his majesty's forces sent on an expedition to the coast of France, and having received orders and instructions relative thereto from his majesty, under his royal sign-manual, and also by one of his principal secretaries of state, had disobeyed his majesty's said orders and instructions. The proceedings of this court were nearly similar to those of the court of inquiry: the same evidences were examined, with the addition of Sir Edward Hawke's deposition; and a defence, differing in no essential point from the former, made by the prisoner, but the judgment given was clear and explicit: Sir John Mordaunt was unanimously found not guilty, and therefore acquitted; while the public opinion remained unaltered, and many persons inveighed as bitterly against the lenity of the present court-martial as they had formerly against the severity of the sentence passed on a late unfortunate admiral: the evidence of one gentleman in particular drew attention: he was accused of tergiversation, and of showing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required: he publicly defended his character; his performance was censured, and himself dismissed the service of his sovereign.

14. Besides the diversion intended by a descent on the coast of France, several other methods were employed to amuse the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, secure our colonies in the West-Indies, and ensure the continuance of the extraordinary success which had lately blessed his majesty's arms in the East-Indies; but these we could not mention before without breaking the thread of our narration: on the ninth of February admiral

West sailed with a squadron of men of war to the westward, as did admiral Coates with the fleet under his convoy to the West-Indies, and commodore Steevens with the trade to the East-Indies, in the month of March: admiral Holbourn and commodore Holmes, with eleven ships of the line, a fire-ship, bomb-ketch, and fifty transports, sailed from St. Helens for America in April: the admiral had on board 6200 effective men, exclusive of officers, under the command of general Hopson, assisted by lord Charles Hay: in May, admiral Osborne, who had been forced back to Plymouth with his squadron by stress of weather, set sail for the Mediterranean, as did two ships of war sent to convoy the American trade.

15. In the mean time, the privateers fitted out by private merchants and societies greatly annoyed the French commerce: the Antigallican, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of men who assumed that name, took the Duke de Penthievre Indiaman off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz: the prize was estimated worth £200,000, and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for restitution, while the proprietors of the Antigallican were squandering in mirth, festivity, and riot the imaginary wealth so easily and unexpectedly acquired: such were the remonstrances made to his catholic majesty with respect to the illegality of the prize, which the French East-India company asserted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the Penthievre was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at last adjudged to be an illegal capture, and consequently restored to the French, to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer. Besides the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English sloops and ships of war, exclusive of the duke d'Aquitaine Indiaman, now fitted out as a ship of war, taken by the Eagle and Medway; the Pondicherry Indiaman, valued at £160,000, taken by the Dover man of war; and above six privateers brought into port by the diligent and brave captain Lockhart, for which he was honored with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations, in testimony of their esteem and regard: this run of good fortune

was not, however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who, out of twenty-one ships, homeward-bound from Carolina, made prize of nineteen, whence the merchants sustained considerable damage; and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was lost to this country.

16. Notwithstanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engrossers still kept up the price of corn: so incensed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered into to frustrate the endeavors of the legislature and to oppress the poor, that they rose in a tumultuous manner in several counties, sometimes to the number of 5000 or 6000, and seized on the grain brought to market: nor was it indeed to be wondered at, considering the distress to which many persons were reduced: the difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life raised the price of labor at the most unseasonable time, when all manufacturers were overstocked for want of a proper market, which obliged them to dismiss above half the hands before employed: hence arose the most pitiable condition of several thousands of useful industrious subjects; a calamity attended only with one advantage to the public, namely, the facility with which recruits were raised for his majesty's service: at last, the plentiful crops, with which it pleased Providence to bless these kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wise measures of the legislature broke all the villanous schemes set on foot by the forestallers and engrossers, and reduced the price of corn to the usual standard. The public joy on this event was greatly augmented by the safe arrival of the fleet from the Leeward Islands, consisting of ninety-two sail, and of the Straits fleet, esteemed worth £3,000,000 sterling, whereby the silk manufacturers in particular were again employed, and their distresses relieved: about the same time the India company was highly elated with the joyful account of the safe arrival and spirited conduct of three of their captains, attacked in their passage homeward by two French men of war, one of sixty-four, the other of twenty-six guns: after a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ships to sheer off, with scarce any loss on their own side: when the engagement began, the captains had promised a reward of £1000 to the crews, by way of incitement to their valor; and the company doubled the sum, in recompense of their

fidelity and courage. His majesty, having taken into consideration the incredible damage sustained by the commerce of these kingdoms, for want of proper harbors and forts on the western coast to receive and protect merchantmen, was graciously pleased to order that a temporary security should be provided for the shipping which might touch at Milford-haven, until the fortifications voted in parliament could be erected: how far his majesty's directions were complied with, the number of merchant ships taken by the enemy's privateers on that coast sufficiently indicated.

17. Whatever reasons the government had to expect the campaign should be vigorously pushed in America, almost every circumstance turned out contrary to expectation: not all the endeavors of the earl of Loudoun to quiet the dissensions among the different provinces, and to establish unanimity and harmony, could prevail: circumstances required that he should act the part of a mediator, in order to raise the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, without which it was impossible he could appear in the character of a general: the enemy, in the mean time, were pursuing the blow given at Oswego, and taking advantage of the distraction that appeared in the British councils: by their successes in the preceding campaign, they remained masters of all the lakes; hence they were furnished with the means of practising on the Indians in all the different districts; and obliging them, by rewards, promises, and menaces, to act in their favor: every accession to their strength was a real diminution of that of the British commander; but then the ignorance or pusillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back settlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm: in consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed who had preserved any sincere regard for the British government: the communication with these faithful allies was now cut off by the imprudent demolition of the forts we possessed at the great carrying-place: a strong fort, indeed, was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudoun, after the commander in chief, and 400 Cherokee Indians joined the English forces at Fort Cumberland; but this reinforcement by no means counterbalanced the losses sustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Wood-creek, and filled it

with logs. Every person, the least acquainted with the country, readily perceived the weakness of these measures, by which our whole frontier was left open and exposed to the irruption of the savages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to escape them: by the removal of these barriers, a path was opened to our fine settlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk river, which the enemy destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign.

18. In the mean time, lord Loudoun was taking the most effectual steps to unite the provinces, and raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow: the attack on Crown-Point, which had been so long meditated, was laid aside, as of less importance than the intended expedition to Louisburg, now substituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more considerable object in itself: admiral Holbourn arrived at Halifax, with the squadron and transports under his command, on the ninth of July; and it was his lordship's intention to repair thither with all possible diligence, in order to take on him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interposed: it was with the utmost difficulty he at length assembled a body of 6000 men, with which he instantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England: when the junction was effected, the whole forces amounted to 12,000 men; an army that raised great expectations: immediately some small vessels were sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as soon as the transports arrived. The return of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who sailed in the month of May from Brest with a large fleet of ships of war and transports, was now safe at anchor in the harbor of Louisburg: their intelligence was supported by the testimony of several deserters; yet still it wanted confirmation, and many persons believed their account of the enemy's strength greatly magnified: such advices, however, could not but occasion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Halifax: some were for setting aside all thoughts of the expedition for that season; while others, more warm in their dispositions, and sanguine in their expectations, were for prosecuting it with vigor, in spite of all dangers and difficulties: their disputes were carried on with

great vehemence, when a packet bound from Louisburg for France was taken by one of the English ships stationed at Newfoundland: she had letters on board, which put the enemy's superiority beyond all doubt, at least by sea: it clearly appeared, there were at that time in Louisburg 6000 regular troops, 3000 natives, and 1300 Indians, with seventeen ships of the line and three frigates moored in the harbor; that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provision, and every kind of military stores; and that the enemy wished for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the disgrace of the assailants, and ruin of the British affairs in America: the commanders at Halifax were fully apprised of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt; it was therefore almost unanimously resolved to postpone the expedition to some more convenient opportunity, especially as the season was now far advanced, which alone would be sufficient to frustrate their endeavors, and render the enterprise abortive: this resolution seems indeed to have been the most eligible in their circumstances, whatever constructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the public against the commander in chief.

19. Lord Loudoun's departure from New York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the marquis de Montcalm the fairest occasion of improving the successes of the former campaign: that general had, in the very commencement of the season, made three different attacks on Fort William Henry, in all of which he was repulsed by the vigor and resolution of the garrison: but his disappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near 400 men, went by water, in whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place: landing at night on an island, he sent before dawn three boats to the main land, which the enemy waylaid and took: having procured the necessary intelligence from the prisoners of the colonel's designs, they contrived their measures, placed 300 men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three batteaux to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker, mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, was surrounded by the enemy reinforced with 400 men, and attacked with such impetuosity, that of the whole detachment only two officers and seventy private men escaped: flushed with this advantage, animated

by the absence of the British commander in chief then at Halifax, and fired with a desire to revenge the disgrace he had lately sustained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay siege to that place. Fort William Henry stands on the southern coast of Lake George ; it was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command the lake : the fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of near 3000 men, and covered by an army of 4000, under the conduct of general Webb, posted at no great distance. When the marquis de Montcalm had assembled all the forces at Crown-Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, together with a considerable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near 10,000 men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and began to batter it with a numerous train of artillery : on the very day he invested the place, he sent a letter to colonel Monro, the governor, telling him, he thought himself obliged in humanity to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance :—‘ A detachment of your garrison has lately,’ says he, ‘ experienced their cruelty ; I have it yet in my power to restrain them, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed : your persisting in the defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days ; and must of necessity expose an unfortunate garrison, who can possibly receive no relief, considering the precautions taken to prevent it : I demand a decisive answer, for which purpose I have sent the sieur Funtbrune, one of my aides-de-camp : you may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm.’ General Webb beheld his preparations with an indifference and security bordering on infatuation : it is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general’s designs and motions ; yet, either despising his strength or discrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the attempt, or at least have rendered his success very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy, meeting with no disturbance from the quarter they most dreaded, prosecuted the siege with vigor, and were warmly received by the garrison, who fired with great spirit till they had burst almost all their cannon, and expended their ammunition : neither Montcalm’s promises or threats could prevail on them to

surrender while they were in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably expect assistance from general Webb: they even persisted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to surrender: colonel Monro was sensible of the importance of his charge, and imagined that general Webb, though slow in his motions, would surely make some vigorous efforts either to raise the siege, or force a supply of ammunition, provision, and other necessaries into the garrison: at length, necessity obliged him, after sustaining a siege from the third to the ninth of August, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander: hostages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation signed by both parties: it was stipulated, that the garrison of Fort William Henry, and the troops in the intrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and soldiers, and all the usual necessities of war, escorted by a detachment of French troops, and interpreters attached to the savages; that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the most christian king immediately after signing the capitulation, and the intrenched camp on the departure of the British forces; that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and in general every thing, except the effects of soldiers and officers, should, on honor, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpose it was agreed there should be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the stores and other particulars specified; that the garrison of the fort, and the troops in the intrenchment and dependences, should not serve for the space of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, against his most christian majesty or his allies; that with the capitulation there should be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artillery-men, commissaries, and all employed; that the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women, and savages, made prisoners by land since the commencement of the war in North-America, should be delivered in the space of three months at Carillon, in return for whom an equal number of the garrison of Fort William Henry should be capacitated to serve agreeably to the return given by the English officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered; that an officer should remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escort sent with the troops of his Britannic majesty; that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to

be transported to Fort Edward, should remain under the protection of the marquis de Montcalm, who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered; that provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops; that, in testimony of his esteem and respect for colonel Monro and his garrison on account of their gallant defence, the marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six-pounder. Whether the marquis de Montcalm was really assiduous to have these articles punctually executed we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, they were perfidiously broken in almost every instance: the savages in the French interest either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part: they fell on the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, and assassinated them with circumstances of unheard-of barbarity: some British soldiers, with their wives and children, are said to have been savagely murdered by those brutal Indians, whose ferocity the French commander could not effectually restrain: the greater part of the English garrison, however, arrived at Fort Edward, under the protection of the French escort: the enemy demolished the fort; carried off the effects, provision, artillery, and every thing else left by the garrison, together with the vessels preserved in the lake; and departed, without pursuing their success by any other attempt. Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with an evident superiority over the enemy, an army of 20,000 regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not less than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly massacred in sight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and disgrace of the British name.

20. As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, they were not less unfortunate: immediately on lord Loudoun's departure from Halifax, admiral Houlbourn, now freed from the care of the transports, set sail for Louisburg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire-ship: what the object of this cruise might have been can only be conjectured: some imagine curiosity was the admiral's sole motive, and

the desire of informing himself with certainty of the enemy's strength ; while others persuade themselves that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority in number of ships and weight of metal : be this as it may, the British squadron appeared off Louisburg on the twentieth of August ; and, approaching within two miles of the batteries, saw the French admiral make the signal to unmoor : Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in strength ; and it is obvious that his design was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the best of his way to Halifax : about the middle of September, being reinforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisburg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement ; but he found de la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unnecessary battle, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies : here the English squadron continued cruising until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm from the southward : when the hurricane began, the fleet were about forty leagues distant from Louisburg ; but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coast, when the wind providentially shifted : the ship *Tilbury* was wrecked on the rocks, and half her crew drowned : eleven ships were dismasted ; others threw their guns overboard ; and all returned in a very shattered condition to England at a very unfavorable season of the year. In this manner ended the expedition to Louisburg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding designs on Rochefort ; less disgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies : indeed, the unhappy consequences of the political disputes at home, the instability of the administration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils were strongly manifested by that languor infused into all our military operations, and general unsteadiness in our pursuits : faction in the mother-country produced divisions and misconduct in the colonies : no ambition to signalise themselves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their services were to be rewarded or condemned : their attachment to particular persons weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general ; and destroyed that spirit of enterprise, that firmness and resolution, which constitutes the commander ; and without which, the best capacity, joined to the most uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

21. The French king not only exerted himself against the English in America, but even extended his operations to their settlements in Africa, which he sent one of his naval commanders with a small squadron to reduce: this gentleman, whose name was Kersin, had scoured the coast of Guinea, and made prize of several English trading ships; but his chief aim was to reduce the castle at Cape Coast, of which had he gained possession, the other subordinate forts would have submitted without opposition. When Mr. Bell, the governor of this castle, received intelligence that M. de Kersin was a few leagues to windward, and certainly intended to attack Cape Coast, his whole garrison did not exceed thirty white men, exclusive of a few Mulatto soldiers; his stock of ammunition was reduced to half a barrel of gunpowder; and his fortifications were so crazy and inconsiderable, that in the opinion of the best engineers they could not have sustained for twenty minutes the fire of one great ship, had it been properly directed and maintained: in these circumstances, few people would have dreamed of making any preparation for defence; but Mr. Bell entertained other sentiments, and acquitted himself with equal courage and discretion: he forthwith procured a supply of gunpowder, and a reinforcement of about fifty men, from certain trading vessels that happened to be on that part of the coast: he mounted some spare cannon on an occasional battery; and, assembling a body of 1200 negroes, well armed, under the command of their chief, on whose attachment he could depend, ordered them to take post at the place where he apprehended the enemy would attempt a landing. These precautions were hardly taken, when the French squadron, consisting of two ships of the line and a large frigate, appeared, and in a little time their attack began; but they met with such a warm reception, that in less than two hours they desisted, leaving the castle very little damaged, and immediately made sail for the West-Indies, very much to the disappointment and mortification of the Dutch officers belonging to the fort of Elmina in the same neighborhood, who made no scruple of expressing their wishes publicly in favor of the French commodore, and at a distance viewed the engagement with the most partial eagerness and impatience: M. de Kersin was generally blamed for his want of conduct and resolution in this attempt; but he is said to have been deceived in his opinion of the real state of Cape Coast Castle by the vi-

gorous and resolute exertions of the governor, and was apprehensive of losing a mast in the engagement;—a loss, which he could not have repaired on the whole coast of Africa. Had the fort of Cape Coast been reduced on this occasion, in all probability every petty republic of the negroes, settled under the protection of the forts on Gold Coast, would have revolted from the British interest; for while the French squadron, in their progress along shore, hovered in the offing at Annamaboe, an English settlement a few leagues to leeward of Cape Coast, John Corrantee, the caboceiro, chief magistrate and general of the blacks on that part of the coast, whose adopted son had a few years before been caressed, and even treated as a prince in England, taking it for granted that this enterprise of the French would be attended with success, actually sent some of his dependents with a present of refreshments for their commodore, the delivery of which, however, was prevented by Mr. Brew, the English chief of the fort, who shattered in pieces the canoe before it could be launched, and threatened with his cannon to level the black town with the dust: the caboceiro, though thus anticipated in his design, resolved to be among the first who should compliment M. de Kersin on his victory at Cape Coast, and with this view prepared an embassy or deputation to go there by land; but understanding that the French had failed in their attempt, he shifted his design without the least hesitation, and despatched the same embassy to Mr. Bell, whom he congratulated on his victory, assuring him he had kept his men ready armed to march at the first summons to his assistance.

22. In the East-Indies the scene was changed greatly to the honor and advantage of Great Britain: there the commanders acted with that harmony, spirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their king and the interest of their country. We left admiral Watson and colonel Clive advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted on their countrymen the preceding year: on the twenty-eighth of December, the fleet proceeded up the river; next day colonel Clive landed, and, with the assistance of the squadron, in twenty-four hours made himself master of Busbudgia, a place of great strength, though very ill defended: on the first of January, the admiral, with two ships, appeared before the town of Calcutta, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries: this salute was returned so warmly, that the enemy's guns were soon

silenced, and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned: colonel Clive, on the other side, had invested the town, and made his attack with that vigor and intrepidity peculiar to himself, which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the settlement: as soon as the fort was surrendered, the brave and active captain Coote, with his majesty's troops, took possession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provision, with every requisite for sustaining an obstinate siege. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses in the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine seamen killed and three soldiers: a few days after, Hughley, a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the nabob; as here his storehouses of salt and vast granaries for the support of his army were burnt and destroyed: incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hughley, the viceroy of Bengal discouraged all advances to an accommodation which was proposed by the admiral and chiefs of the company, and assembled an army of 20,000 horse and 15,000 foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained: he was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the second of February, where he encamped about a mile from the town: colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement; and 600 men, under the command of captain Warwick, were accordingly draughted from the different ships, and sent to assist his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attack so vigorously, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of 1000 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, 500 horses, great numbers of draught bullocks, and four elephants: though this advantage was less decisive than could be wished, yet it sufficiently intimidated the nabob into concessions much to the honor and advantage of the company: admiral Watson gave him to understand in a letter, that this was no more than a specimen of what the British arms, when provoked, could perform: the suba desired the negotiation might be renewed, and in a few days the treaty was concluded: he promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the firm, and granted by the

mogul; that all merchandise belonging to the company should pass and repass, in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty; that all the English factories seized the preceding year, or since, should be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining; that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid; that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper, without interruption; that they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province; that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavors to heal up the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them: all which several articles were solemnly signed and sealed with the nabob's own hand.

23. Such were the terms obtained for the company by the spirit and gallant conduct of the two English commanders: they had, however, too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian, who had so perfidiously broken former engagements; but they prudently dissembled their sentiments, until they had thoroughly reinstated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. In order to adjust the points that required discussion, the select committee for the company's affairs appointed Mr. Watts, who had been released from his former imprisonment, as their commissary at the court of the suba, to whom he was personally known, as well as to his ministers, among whom he had acquired a considerable influence: nothing less could have balanced the interest which the French, by their art of intriguing, had raised among the favorites of the viceroy. While Mr. Watts was employed at Muxadavad, in counterworking those intrigues and keeping the suba steady to his engagements, the admiral and Mr. Clive resolved to avail themselves of their armament in attacking the French settlements in Bengal: the chief object of their designs was the reduction of Chandernagore, situated higher up the river than Calcutta, of considerable strength, and the chief in importance of any possessed by that nation in the bay: colonel Clive, being reinforced by 300 men from Bombay, began his march to Chandernagore, at the head of 700 Europeans and 1600 Indians, where, on his first arrival, he took possession of all the outposts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he

left to be silenced by the admiral: on the eighteenth of March the admirals Watson and Pocock arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury men of war, and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel: these difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised: their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission: a flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation: the keys were delivered to captain Latham, of the Tiger; and in the afternoon colonel Clive, with the king's troops, took possession. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress, garrisoned by 500 Europeans and 1200 Indians, defended by 123 pieces of cannon and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors: by the treaty of capitulation, the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel; the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full possession of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war: the goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

24. Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British commanders, because they were concerted with foresight and unanimity, and executed with that vigor and spirit which deservedly raised them in the high esteem of their country: they reduced the nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation before they alarmed the French; and now the power of the latter was destroyed, they entered on measures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a strict performance of the treaty he had so lately signed: however specious his promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several articles of the treaty, which in effect was the same to the English commerce as if none had been concluded: the company's goods were loaded with

high duties, and several other infractions of the peace committed on such frivolous pretences, as evidently demonstrated that he sought to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were ripe for execution: in a word, he discovered all along a manifest partiality to the French, whose emissaries cajoled him with promises that he should be joined by such a body of their European troops under M. de Bussy, as would enable him to crush the power of the English, whom they had taught him to fear and to hate. As recommencing hostilities against so powerful a prince was in itself dangerous, and, if possible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and canvassed with all the circumspection and caution that a measure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal: Mr. Watts from time to time sent them intelligence of every transaction in the suba's cabinet; and although that prince publicly declared he would cause him to be impaled as soon as the English troops should be put in motion within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely sacrificed his own safety to the interest of the company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigor in their military operations. During these deliberations a most fortunate incident occurred, that soon determined the council to come to an open rupture: the leading persons in the viceroy's court found themselves oppressed by his haughtiness and insolence: the same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army; they were well acquainted with his perfidy, saw his preparations for war, and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled or the nabob deposed: in consequence, a plan was concerted for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province: the project was communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, and so improved by the address of that gentleman, as in a manner to ensure success: a treaty was actually concluded between this Meer Jaffier Ali Khan and the English company, and a plan concerted with this nobleman and the other malcontents for their defection from the viceroy: these previous measures being taken, colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army: admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandernagore; and the garrison was detached to reinforce the colonel, together with fifty seamen to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery: then Mr. Watts, de-

ceiving the suba's spies, by whom he was surrounded, withdrew himself from Muxadavad, and reached the English camp in safety. On the nineteenth of June a detachment was sent to attack Cutwa fort and town, situated on that branch of the river forming the island of Cassimbuzar: this place surrendered at the first summons; and here the colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan: disappointed of the hoped-for intelligence, he crossed the river, and marched to Plaissey, where he encamped: on the twenty-third, at daybreak, the suba advanced to attack him, at the head of 15,000 horse and near 30,000 infantry, with about forty pieces of heavy cannon, conducted and managed by French gunners, on whose courage and dexterity he placed great dependence: they began to cannonade the English camp about six in the morning; but a severe shower falling at noon, they withdrew their artillery: colonel Clive seized this opportunity to take possession of a tank and two other posts of consequence, which they in vain endeavored to retake: then he stormed an angle of their camp, covered with a double breastwork, together with an eminence which they occupied: at the beginning of this attack, some of their chiefs being slain, the men were so dispirited that they soon gave way; but still Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, who commanded the left wing, forbore declaring himself openly: after a short contest, the enemy were put to flight; the nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon taken; and a most complete victory obtained: the colonel, pursuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavad, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malcontents: it was before concerted that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of nabob; accordingly, the colonel proceeded solemnly to depose Surajah Dowlat, and with the same ceremony to substitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as suba, or viceroy, of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá. Soon after, the late viceroy was taken, and put to death by his successor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation: he conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the company such extraordinary privileges, as fully demonstrated how justly he merited their assistance: by this alliance, and the reduction of Chandernagore, the French were intirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependences; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond

their most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; a vast sum was paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their losses; the soldiers and seamen were gratified with £600,000, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate: in a word, in the space of fourteen days a great revolution was effected; and the government of a vast country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants to most European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than instruction and experience: but the public joy at these signal successes was considerably diminished by the death of admiral Watson, and the loss of Vizagapatam, an English settlement on the Coromandel coast: the admiral fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate on the sixteenth of August, universally esteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were surrendered to the French, a few days after colonel Clive had defeated the nabob.

25. We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we see the beginning of the year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthusiasm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, easy, complying, good-natured, and averse to all that wore the appearance of business or of war: contented with the pleasures of indolence, he sought no greatness beyond what he enjoyed, nor pursued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own disposition: of all men on earth, such a prince had the greatest reason to expect an exemption from plots against his person and cabals among his subjects; yet was an attempt made on his life by a man, who, though placed in the lowest sphere of fortune, had resolution to face the greatest dangers, and enthusiasm sufficient to sustain, without shrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render necessary: the name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, born in the suburb of St. Catharine, in the city of Arras: he had lived in the service of several families, whence he was generally dismissed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and sullenness of his disposition: so humble was the station of a person, who was resolved to step forth from obscurity, and by one desperate effort draw on himself the attention of all

Europe. On the fifth of January, as the king was stepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Versailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, stabbed him with a knife on the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs : his majesty, applying his hand immediately to his side, cried out, ' I am wounded ! seize him, but do not hurt him.' Happily the wound was not dangerous ; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, missed the vital parts : as for the assassin, he made no attempts to escape ; but suffering himself quietly to be seized, was conveyed to the guard-room, where being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly answered in the affirmative : a process against him was instantly commenced at Versailles ; many persons, supposed accessaries to the design on the king's life, were sent to the Bastile ; the assassin himself was put to the torture, and the most excruciating torments were applied, with intention to extort a confession of the reasons that could induce him to so execrable an attempt on his sovereign : incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured : every refinement on cruelty that human invention could suggest was practised without effect : nothing could overcome his obstinacy ; and his silence was construed into a presumption that he must have had accomplices in the plot : to render his punishment more public and conspicuous, he was removed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, with such additional circumstances as the most fertile and cruel dispositions could devise for increasing his misery and torment : being conducted to the Concergerie, an iron bed, which likewise served for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was fastened with chains : the torture was again applied, and a physician ordered to attend, to see what degree of pain he could support : nothing, however, material was extorted ; for what he one moment confessed, he recanted the next. It is not within our province (and we consider it as a felicity) to relate all the circumstances of this cruel and tragical event : sufficient it is, that, after suffering the most exquisite torments that human nature could invent or man support, his judges thought proper to terminate his misery by a death shocking to imagination and shameful to humanity : on the twenty-eighth of March he was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to the Greve, the common place of execution, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by

iron gyves : one of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur ; his thighs, legs, and arms were torn with red-hot pincers ; boiling oil, melted lead, resin, and sulphur were poured into the wounds ; tight ligatures tied round his limbs to prepare him for dismemberment ; young and vigorous horses applied to the draught, and the unhappy criminal pulled with all their force to the utmost extention of his sinews, for the space of an hour ; during all which time he preserved his senses and constancy : at length, the physician and surgeon attending declared it would be impossible to accomplish the dismemberment unless the tendons were separated ; on which orders were given to the executioner to cut the sinews at the joints of the arms and legs : the horses drew afresh ; a thigh and an arm were separated ; and after several pulls, the unfortunate wretch expired under the extremity of pain : his body and limbs were reduced to ashes under the scaffold ; his father, wife, daughter, and family banished the kingdom for ever ; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated ; and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty. Thus ended the procedure against Damien and his family, in a manner not very favorable to the avowed clemency of Louis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation : it appeared from undoubted evidence, that the attempt on the king's life was the result of insanity and a disturbed imagination : several instances of a disordered mind had before been observed in his conduct ; and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been absorbed in the consideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befall human nature.

26. Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the change in the ministry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machault, keeper of the seals, from the post of secretary of state for the marine ; and of M. d'Argenson from that of secretary at war : their dismissal was sudden and unexpected, nor was any particular reason assigned for this very unexpected alteration. The French king, to show the queen of Hungary how judiciously she had acted in forming an alliance with the house of Bourbon, raised two great armies ; the first of which, composed of near 80,000 men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrées, a general of great reputation, under whom served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the count de St. Germain, all officers of high character : this formidable army passed the Rhine

early in the spring, and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the king of Prussia's dominions, in quality of allies to the empress-queen, and guardians of the liberties of the empire : but their real view was to invade Hanover ; a scheme, which they knew would make a powerful diversion of the British force from the prosecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the strength of France could not be fully exerted, and where their most valuable interests were at stake : they flattered themselves, moreover, that the same blow, by which they hoped to crush the king of Prussia, might likewise force his Britannic majesty into some concessions with regard to America : the other army of the French, commanded by the prince de Soubise, was destined to strengthen the imperial army of execution, consisting of 25,000 men, besides 6000 Bavarians and 4000 Wirtembergers : but before these troops, under Soubise, passed the Rhine, they made themselves masters of several places belonging to the king of Prussia on the borders of the Low Countries ;¹ whilst a detachment from d'Etrées' army seized on the town of Emden, and whatever else belonged to the same monarch in East-Friesland.

27. At the close of the last campaign, the king of Prussia, having gained a petty advantage over the imperialists under the command of marshal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken prisoners at Pirna, as was observed before, retired into winter-quarters until the season should permit him to improve these advantages : his majesty and marshal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe ; and marshal Schwerin, returning into Silesia, took up his quarters in the country of Glatz : in the mean time, the empress-queen, finding the force which she had sent out against the king of Prussia was not sufficient to prevent his designs, made the necessary requisitions to her allies for the auxiliaries they had engaged to furnish : in consequence of these requisitions, the czarina, true to her engagements, despatched above 100,000 of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with design

¹ The king of Prussia had withdrawn his garrison from Cleves, not without suspicion of having purposely left this door open to the enemy, that their irruption into Germany might hasten the resolutions of the British ministry.

particularly to invade Ducal Prussia; whilst a strong fleet was equipped in the Baltic, to aid the operations of this numerous army. The Austrian army assembled in Bohemia amounted to upwards of 80,000 men, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine and marshal Brown: the Swedes had not yet openly declared themselves; but it was well known, that though their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Prussian majesty, yet the jealousy which the senate of Sweden entertained of their sovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient possessions in Pomerania by means of the present troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and subsidies, would certainly induce them to join the general confederacy: the duke of Mecklenburg took the same party, and agreed to join the Swedish army, when it should be assembled, with 6000 men: besides all these preparations against the king of Prussia, he was, in his quality of elector of Brandenburg, put under the ban of the empire by the Aulic council; declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs were escheated into the exchequer of the empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered to furnish their respective contingences for putting this sentence in execution.

28. In this dangerous situation, thus menaced on all sides, and seemingly on the very brink of inevitable destruction, the Prussian monarch owed his preservation to his own courage and activity: the Russians, knowing that the country they were to pass through in their way to Lithuania would not be able to subsist their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furnish themselves with provisions for their march, depending on the resources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival in that country: these provisions were exhausted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly destitute of subsistence, either to return back or to proceed forward: the king of Prussia had, with great prudence and foresight, secured plenty to himself, and distress and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which these last were entering. Notwithstanding these precautions, his Prussian majesty, to guard as much as could be against every possible event, sent a great number of gunners and matrosses from Pomerania to Memel, with three regiments of his troops, to re-enforce the garrison of

that place: he visited all the posts which his troops possessed in Silesia, and gave the necessary orders for their security: he repaired to Neiss, where he settled with marshal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign: there it was agreed, that the marshal's army in Silesia, which consisted of 50,000 men, should have in constant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated; that they might both act in concert, as circumstances should require: at the same time, other armies were assembled by the king of Prussia in Lusatia and Voigtland; 20,000 men were collected at Zwickaw, on the frontiers of Bohemia, towards Egra, under the command of prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau; and 60,000 chosen troops began their march towards Great Seidlitz, where their head-quarters were settled: in the mean while, the Austrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony, where some of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Prussians, who still continued to pursue their operations with great activity and resolution: all possible care was taken by the Prussians at Dresden to secure a retreat, in case of a defeat: as only one regiment of Prussians could be spared to remain there in garrison, the burghers were disarmed, their arms deposited in the arsenal, and a detachment was posted at Konigstein, to oblige that fortress to observe a strict neutrality: all correspondence with the enemy was strictly prohibited; and it having been discovered that the countess of Ogilvie, one of the queen's maids of honor, had disobeyed his majesty's commands, she was arrested; but, on the queen's intercession, afterwards released: the countess of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime-minister, was also arrested by his Prussian majesty's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and resolving to see company, she was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony: M. Henwin, the French minister, was told that his presence was unnecessary at Dresden; and on his replying that his master had commanded him to stay, he was again desired to depart; on which he thought proper to obey: the count de Wackerbath, minister of the cabinet, and grand master of the household to the prince royal of Poland, was arrested, and conducted to Custrin, by the express command of his majesty. The king of Prussia, having thrown two bridges over the Elbe early in the spring, ordered the several districts of the electorate of Saxony to supply him with a great number

of waggons, each drawn by four horses: the circles of Misnia and Leipsic were enjoined to furnish 400 each, and the other circles in proportion.

29. While the king of Prussia was taking these measures in Saxony, two skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia between his troops and the Austrians: on the twentieth of February, a body of 6000 Austrians surrounded the little town of Hirschfield, in Upper Lusatia, garrisoned by a battalion of Prussian foot: the first attack was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field pieces; and though the Austrians were several times repulsed, they at last made themselves masters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon: in their retreat they were pursued by the Prussians, who fell on their rear, killed some, and took many prisoners: this affair cost the Austrians at least 500 men: about a fortnight after, the prince of Bevern marched out of Zittau, with a body of near 9000 men, in order to destroy the remaining strongholds possessed by the Austrians on the frontiers: in this expedition he took the Austrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, consisting of 9000 sacks of meal, and great store of ammunition; and, after making himself master of Reichenburg, he returned to Zittau: the van of his troops, consisting of 150 hussars of the regiment of Putkammer, met with a body of 600 Croats, sustained by 200 Austrian dragoons of Bathiania, at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell on them sword in hand, killed about fifty, took thirty horses, and made ten dragoons prisoners: the Prussians, it is said, did not lose a single man on this occasion; and two soldiers only were slightly wounded, the Austrians having made but a slight resistance.

30. Whatever the conduct of the court of Vienna might have been to the allies of Great Britain, still, however, proper regard was shown to the subjects of this crown; for an edict was published at Florence on the thirteenth of February, wherein his imperial majesty, as grand duke of Tuscany, declared his intention of observing the most scrupulous neutrality in the then situation of affairs: all the ports in that duchy were accordingly enjoined to pay a strict regard to this declaration, in all cases relating to the French or English ships in the Mediterranean: the good effects of this injunction soon appeared; for two prizes taken by the English having put into Porto Ferraro, the captains of two

French privateers addressed themselves to the governor, alleging, that they were captures of a pirate, and requesting that they might be obliged to put to sea; but the governor prudently replied, that as they came in under English colors he would protect them; and forbade the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence: they, however, little regarding the governor's orders, prepared for sailing, and sent their boats to cut out one of the prizes: the captain, firing at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the sentinels, notice was sent to the governor; and he in consequence ordered the two privateers immediately to depart. The conduct of the Dutch was rather cautious than spirited: whilst his Prussian majesty was employed on the side of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxiliaries began their march to harass his defenceless territories in the neighborhood of the Low Countries: a free passage was demanded of the States-General through Namur and Maestricht, for the provisions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army; and though the English ambassador remonstrated against their compliance, and represented it as a breach of the neutrality their high mightinesses declared they would observe, yet, after some hesitation, the demand was granted; and their inability to prevent the passage of the French troops, should it be attempted by force, pleaded in excuse of their conduct.

31. Scarcely had the French army, commanded by the prince de Soubise, set foot in the territories of Juliers and Cologne, when they found themselves in possession of the duchy of Cleves and the county of Mark, where all things were left open to them; the Prussians, who evacuated their posts, taking their route along the river Lippe, in order to join some regiments from Magdeburg, who were sent to facilitate their retreat: the distressed inhabitants, thus exposed to the calamities of war from an unprovoked enemy, were instantly ordered to furnish contributions, forage, and provisions for the use of their invaders; and, what was still more terrifying to them, the partisan Fischer, whose cruelties the last war they still remembered with horror, was again let loose on them by the inhumanity of the empress-queen: Wesel was immediately occupied by the French; Emmerick and Maseyk soon shared the same fate; and the city of Gueldres was besieged, the Prussians seeming resolved to defend this last place; to which end they opened the sluices, and laid the country under water: those who retreated, filing

off to the north-west of Paderborn, entered the county of Ritburg, the property of count Caunitz Ritburg, great chancellor to the empress-queen : after taking his castle, in which they found thirty pieces of cannon, they raised contributions in the district to the amount of 40,000 crowns : as the Prussians retired, the French took possession of the country they quitted in the name of the empress-queen, whose commissary attended them for that purpose. The general rendezvous of these troops, under prince Soubise, was appointed at Neuss, in the electorate of Cologne, where a large body of French was assembled by the first of April : the Austrians, in their turn, were not idle : marshal Brown visited the fortifications of Brinn and Konigsgratz ; reviewed the army of the late prince Piccolomini, now under the command of general Serbelloni ; and put his own army in march for Kostlitz on the Elbe, where he proposed to establish his head-quarters.

32. During the recess of the armies, while the rigors of winter forced them to suspend their hostile operations, and the greatest preparations were making to open the campaign with all possible vigor, count Bestucheff, great chancellor of Russia, wrote a circular letter to the primate, senators, and ministers of the republic of Poland, setting forth, that the empress of Russia was extremely affected with the king of Poland's distress, which she thought could not but excite the compassion of all other powers, but more especially of his allies ; that the fatal consequences which might result from the rash step taken by the king of Prussia, not only with respect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more especially of the neighboring countries, were so evident, that the interest and safety of the several princes rendered it absolutely necessary they should make it a common cause ; not only to obtain proper satisfaction for those courts whose dominions had been so unjustly attacked, but likewise to prescribe such bounds to the king of Prussia, as might secure them from any future apprehensions from so enterprising and restless a neighbor ; that with this view, the empress was determined to assist the king of Poland with a considerable body of troops, which were actually on their march,² under the command of general Apraxin ; and that, as there would

² This letter was written in December ; and the Russians, as we observed before, began their march in November.

be an absolute necessity for their marching through part of the territories of Poland, her imperial majesty hoped the republic would not fail to facilitate their march as much as possible: she farther recommended to the republic, to take some salutary measures for frustrating the designs of the king of Prussia, and restoring harmony among themselves, as the most conducive measure to these good purposes: in this, however, the Poles were so far from following her advice, that though sure of being sacrificed in this contest, which side soever prevailed, they divided into parties with no less zeal, than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one side as to fear from that of the other: some of the palatines were for denying a passage to the Russians, and others were for affording them the utmost assistance in their power: with this cause of contention, others of a more private nature fatally concurred, by means of a misunderstanding between the prince Czartorinski and count Mnisnec: almost every inhabitant of Warsaw was involved in the quarrel; and the violence of these factions was so great, that scarce a night passed without bloodshed; many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the streets every morning.

33. In the mean time, Great Britain, unsettled in her ministry and councils at home, unsuccessful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be obtained on just and honorable terms, more eligible than a continental war, proposed several expedients to the empress-queen for restoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her answer was that whenever she perceived that the expedients proposed would indemnify her for the extraordinary expenses she had incurred in her own defence, repair the heavy losses sustained by her ally the king of Poland, and afford a proper security for their future safety, she would be ready to give the same proofs she had always given of her desire to restore peace; but it could not be expected she should listen to expedients, of which the king of Prussia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and wasted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his security on the faith of treaties and the appearance of harmony between them. On the receipt of this answer, the court of London made several proposals to the czarina, to interpose as mediatrix between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, but they were rejected with marks of displeasure and resentment: when Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the British ambas-

ador, continued to urge his solicitations very strongly, and even with some hints of menaces, an answer was delivered to him by order of the empress, purporting, that her imperial majesty was astonished at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the measures she had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin : he might easily conceive, as matters were then situated, that the earnestness with which he now urged the same proposition must necessarily surprise her imperial majesty, as it showed but little regard to her former declaration : the empress therefore commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her first answer remained absolutely invariable, no ulterior propositions for a mediation would be listened to ; and that as for the menaces made use of by his excellency, and particularly that the king of Prussia himself would soon attack the Russian army, such threats served only to weaken the ambassador's proposals ; to confirm still more, were it possible, the empress in her resolutions ; to justify them to the whole world, and to render the king of Prussia more blamable.

34. The season now drawing on in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progress of the Russians being happily stopped, his Prussian majesty, whose maxim it has always been to keep the seat of war as far as possible from his own dominions, resolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Austrians on all sides : to this end he ordered his armies in Saxony, Misnia, Lusatia, and Silesia to enter Bohemia in four different and opposite places nearly at the same time : the first of these he commanded in person, assisted by marshal Keith ; the second was led by prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau ; the third by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern ; and the fourth by marshal Schwerin : in consequence of this plan, marshal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the eighteenth of April, in five columns, at as many different places : the design was so well concerted, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of their approach till they were past the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Guelder-Oelse with Pandours, to dispute that passage ; but they were no sooner discovered, than two battalions of Prussian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them : the prince of Anhalt passed the frontiers from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-first of April without

any resistance : the prince of Bevern, on the twentieth of the same month, having marched at the head of a body of the army, which was in Lusatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, possessed himself immediately of the first post on the frontier of Bohemia, at Krouttau and Grasenstein, without the loss of a single man ; drove away the enemy the same day from Krutzen, and proceeded to Machendorf, near Reichenburg : the same morning Putkammer's hussars, who formed part of a corps, commanded by a colonel and major, routed some hundreds of the enemy's cuirassiers, posted before Kolin, under the conduct of prince Lichtenstein, took three officers, and upwards of sixty horse prisoners ; and so dispersed the rest, that they were scarcely able to rally near Krutzen : night coming on obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning, when at break of day, the Prussians marched in two columns by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, amounting to 28,000 men, commanded by count Konigseg, and posted near Reichenburg : as soon as the troops were formed, they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, drawn up in three lines of about thirty squadrons : the two wings were sustained by the infantry, which was posted among felled trees and intrenchments. The Prussians immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with resolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they had intrenched themselves : but the prince of Bevern having caused fifteen squadrons of dragoons of the second line to advance, and the wood on his right to be attacked at the same time by the battalions of grenadiers of Kahlden and of Moellendorf, and by the regiment of the prince of Prussia ; his dragoons, who by clearing the ground and possessing the intrenchment had their flanks covered, intirely routed the enemy's cavalry : in the mean time, colonel Putkammer and major Schenfeld, with their hussars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, gave the Austrian horse-grenadiers a very warm reception ; whilst general Lestewitz, with the left wing of the Prussians, attacked the redoubts that covered Reichenburg. Though there were many defiles and rising grounds to pass, all occupied by the Austrians, yet the regiment of Darmstadt forced the redoubt, and put to flight and pursued the enemy, after some discharge of their artillery and small arms, from one eminence to another, for the distance of a mile, when they left off the pursuit : the action began at half an hour after six, and continued till eleven :

about 1000 of the Austrians were killed and wounded; among the former were general Porporati and count Hohenfelds, and among the latter prince Lichtenstein and count Mansfeld: twenty of their officers and 400 soldiers were taken prisoners, and they also lost three standards: on the side of the Prussians, seven subalterns and about 100 men were killed, and sixteen officers and 150 men wounded. After this battle, marshal Schwerin joined the prince of Bevern, made himself master of the greatest part of the circle of Buntzlau, and took a considerable magazine from the Austrians, whom he dislodged: the prince Anhalt-Dessau, with his corps, drew near the king of Prussia's army; then the latter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Austrians, who had an advantageous camp there, retired to Westwarn, half-way between Budin and Prague; and his Prussian majesty having passed the Egra, his army and that of marshal Schwerin were so situated, as to be able to act jointly.

35. These advantages were but a prelude to a much more decisive victory, which the king himself gained a few days after: preparing to enter Bohemia at a distance from any of the corps commanded by his generals, he made a movement as if he had intended to march towards Egra: the enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute some design distinct from the object of other armies, detached a body of 20,000 men to observe his motions; then he made a sudden and masterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians, which having been reinforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the duke of Bevern, and by several regiments of the garrison of Prague, amounted to near 100,000 men: they were strongly intrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of Prague, in a camp so fortified by every advantage of nature and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almost impregnable: the left wing of the Austrians, thus situated, was guarded by the mountains of Ziscka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi: prince Charles of Lorrain and marshal Brown, who commanded them, seemed determined to maintain this advantageous post; but the king of Prussia overlooked all difficulties: having thrown several bridges over the Moldaw on the fifth of May, he passed that river in the morning of the sixth with 30,000 men, leaving the rest of the army under

the command of the prince of Anhalt-Dessau; and being immediately joined by the troops under marshal Schwerin and the prince of Bevern, resolved to attack the enemy on the same day: in consequence of this resolution, his army filed off on the left by Potschernitz, and at the same time count Brown wheeled to the right to avoid being flanked: the Prussians continued their march to Bichwitz, traversing several defiles and morasses, which for a little time separated the infantry from the rest of the army: the foot began the attack too precipitately, and were at first repulsed, but they soon recovered themselves: while the king of Prussia took the enemy in flank, marshal Schwerin advanced to a marshy ground, which suddenly stopping his army, threatened to disconcert the whole plan of operation: in this emergency, he immediately dismounted; and, taking the standard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the morass, crying out, 'Let all brave Prussians follow me:' inspired by the example of this great commander, now eighty-two years of age, all the troops pressed forward; and though he was unfortunately killed by the first fire, their ardor abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell marshal Schwerin, loaded with years and glory; an officer, whose superior talents in the military art had been displayed in a long course of faithful service: in the mean time, the Prussian infantry, which had been separated in the march, forming themselves afresh, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and intirely broke it; while their cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Austrians to retire in great confusion, the centre being at the same time totally routed: the left wing of the Prussians then marched immediately towards Michely, and being there joined by the horse, renewed their attack, while the enemy were retreating hastily towards Saszawar: meanwhile the troops on the right of the Prussian army attacked the remains of the left wing of the Austrians, and made themselves masters of three batteries; but the behavior of the infantry in the last attack was so successful as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act: prince Henry of Prussia and the prince of Bevern signalised themselves on this occasion in storming two batteries; prince Ferdinand of Brunswick took the left wing of the Austrians in flank; while the king with his left, and a body of cavalry, secured the passage of the Moldaw: in short, after a very long and obstinate engagement, and many signal examples of valor on both sides, the Austrians were forced to

abandon the field of battle, leaving behind sixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military chest, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell on the right wing of the Austrians, the remains of which, to the amount of 10,000 or 12,000 men, fled towards Beneschau, where they afterwards assembled under M. Pretlach, general of horse: the infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themselves into that city with their commanders, prince Charles of Lorraine and marshal Brown; but they were much harassed in their retreat by a detachment of the Prussians under marshal Keith. The Prussians took, on this occasion, ten standards, and upwards of 4000 prisoners, thirty of whom were officers of rank: their loss amounted to about 2500 killed, and about 3000 wounded: among the former were general d'Amstel, the prince of Holstein-Beck, colonels Goltze and Manstein, and lieutenant-colonel Boke; among the latter, generals Wenterfield, De la Mothe, Feuque, Hautcharmoy, Blakensee, and Plettenberg. The number of the killed and wounded on the side of the Austrians was much greater: among these last was marshal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he suffered rather than from its own nature, proved mortal: the day after the battle, colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Prussian Pandours and 400 hussars to destroy a very considerable and valuable magazine of the Austrians at Pilsen, and this service he performed: he also completed the destruction of several others of less importance; by the loss of which, however, all possibility of subsistence was cut off from any succors the Austrians might have expected from the empire.

36. The Prussians, following their blow, immediately invested Prague on both sides of the river, the king commanding on one side and marshal Keith on the other: in four days the whole city was surrounded with lines and intrenchments, by which all communication from without was intirely cut off: prince Charles of Lorraine and marshal Brown, the two princes of Saxony, the prince of Modena, the duke d'Aremberg, count Lacy, and several other persons of great distinction, were shut up within the walls, together with above 20,000 of the Austrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat: every thing continued quiet on both sides, scarce a cannon-shot being fired by either for some time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean time, the Prussians made themselves masters of Cziscaburg, an emi-

nence which commands the town, where the Austrians had a strong redoubt, continuing likewise to strengthen their works: already they had made a salty, and taken some other ineffectual steps to recover this post; but a more decisive stroke was necessary: accordingly, a design was formed of attacking the Prussian army in the night with a body of 12,000 men, to be sustained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, Pandours, and Hungarian infantry: in case an impression could be made on the king's lines, it was intended to open a way, sword in hand, through the camp of the besiegers, and to ease Prague of the multitude of forces locked up useless within the walls, serving only to consume the provisions of the garrison and hasten the surrender of the place: happily a deserter gave the prince of Prussia intelligence of the enemy's design about eleven o'clock at night: proper measures were immediately taken for their reception, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole army was under arms. This design was conducted with so much silence, that though the Prussians were warned of it, they could discover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced posts: their attack was begun on the side of the little town, against marshal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Prussian army encamped on the Moldaw: from hence it is probable the Austrians proposed not only to destroy the batteries that were raising, but to attack the bridges of communication which the Prussians threw over the Moldaw, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branig and Podbaba. The greatest alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come silently and unexpectedly on the miners; but they had left work about a quarter of an hour before: at the report of the first piece which they fired, the picquet of the third battalion of Prussian guards, to the number of 100 men, who marched out of the camp to sustain the body which covered the works, was thrown into some confusion from the darkness of the night, which prevented their distinguishing the Austrian troops from their own: lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempting to discover their disposition by kindling a fire, captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, perceived the enemy's situation, immediately formed the design of falling on them in flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the signal given by their commander: the enemy fled with the greater precipitation,

as they were ignorant of the weakness of the picquet, and as the shouting of the Prussian soldiers made them mistake it for a numerous body: many of them deserted, many took shelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river and drowned. At the same time this attack began, a regiment of horse-grenadiers fell on a redoubt which the Prussians had thrown up, supported by the Hungarian infantry: they returned three times to the assault, and were as often beat back by the Prussians, whom they found it impossible to dislodge; though prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's battalion, which guarded this post, suffered extremely: during this attack the enemy kept an incessant fire with their musketry on the whole front of the Prussians from the convent of St. Margaret to the river: at three in the morning the Prussians quitted their camp to engage the enemy: the battalion of Pannewitz attacked a building called the red-house, situated at the bottom of a declivity before Wellastowitz: the Pandours, who had taken possession of this house, fired on them incessantly from all the doors and windows until they were dislodged; and the Prussian battalions were obliged to sustain the fire both of cannon and musketry for above two hours, when the enemy retired to the city, except the Pandours, who again took possession of the red-house, which the Prussians were forced to abandon, because the artillery of Prague kept a continual fire on it from the moment it was known to be in their hands: the Austrians left behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters; and the Prussians, notwithstanding the loss of several officers and private men, made some prisoners: prince Ferdinand, the king of Prussia's youngest brother, had a horse killed under him, and was slightly wounded in the face.

37. The Prussian works being completed and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries erected on the banks of the Moldaw began to play with great fury: near 300 bombs, besides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the space of twenty-four hours: the scene was lamentable; houses, men, and horses wrapped in flames and reduced to ashes: the confusion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Austrians to cease firing, and furnished his Prussian majesty with all the opportunity he could wish of pouring destruction on this unfortunate city. The horrors of war seemed to have extinguished the principles of humanity: no regard was paid

to the distress of the inhabitants; the Austrians obstinately maintained possession, and the Prussians practised every stratagem, every barbarous refinement, that constitutes the military art, to oblige them to capitulate: after the conflagration had lasted three days, and consumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbish, besought the commander, in a body, to hearken to terms; but he was deaf to the voice of pity; and, instead of being moved with their supplications, drove out 12,000 persons, the least useful in defending the city: these, by order of his Prussian majesty, were again forced back, which soon produced so great a scarcity of provision within the walls, that the Austrians were reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, forty horses being daily distributed to the troops, and the same food sold at fourpence a pound to the inhabitants: however, as there still remained great abundance of corn, they were far from being brought to the last extremity: two vigorous and well-conducted sallies were made, but they proved unsuccessful: the only advantage resulting from them, was the perpetual alarm in which they kept the Prussian camp, and the vigilance required to guard against the attacks of a numerous, resolute, and desperate garrison.

38. Whatever difficulties might have attended the conquest of Prague, certain it is that the affairs of the empress-queen were in the most critical and desperate situation: her grand army dispersed in parties, and flying for subsistence in small corps; their princes and commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken; the flourishing kingdom of Bohemia ready to fall into the hands of the conqueror; a considerable army on the point of surrendering prisoners of war; all the queen's hereditary dominions open and exposed; the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw in actual possession of the Prussians; the distance to the archduchy of Austria not very considerable, and secured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmost apprehensions of a siege; and the imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary; the Prussian forces deemed invincible; and the sanguine friends of that monarch already sharing with him, in imagination, the spoils of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria. Such was the aspect of affairs, and such the difficulties to be combated, when Leopold, count Daun, was appointed to the command of the

Austrian forces, to stem the torrent of disgrace, and turn the fortune of the war : this general, tutored by long experience under the best officers of Europe, and the particular favorite of the great Kevenhuller, was now, for the first time, raised to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate of Austria and the empire : born of a noble family, he relied solely on his own merit, without soliciting court-favor ; he aspired after the highest preferment, and succeeded by mere dint of superior worth : his progress from the station of a subaltern was slow and silent ; his promotion to the chief command was received with universal esteem and applause : cautious, steady, penetrating, and sagacious, he was opposed as another Fabius to the modern Hannibal, to check the fire and vigor of that monarch by prudent foresight and wary circumspection. Arriving at Boemischbrod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he halted to collect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Austrian army, and soon drew together a force so considerable as to attract the notice of his Prussian majesty, who detached the prince of Bevern, with twenty battalions and thirty squadrons, to attack him before numbers should render him formidable : Daun was too prudent to give battle, with dispirited troops, to an army flushed with victory : he retired on the first advice that the Prussians were advancing, and took post at Kolin, where he intrenched himself strongly, opened the way for the daily supply of recruits sent to his army, and inspired the garrison of Prague with fresh courage, in expectation of being soon relieved : here he kept close within his camp ; divided the Prussian force, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his designs ; weakened his efforts against Prague, harassed the enemy by cutting off their convoys, and restored by degrees the languishing and almost desponding spirits of his troops : perfectly acquainted with the ardor and discipline of the Prussian forces, with the enterprising and impetuous disposition of that monarch, and sensible that his situation would prove irksome and embarrassing to the enemy, he improved it to the best advantage, seemed to foresee all the consequences, and directed every measure to produce them : thus he retarded the enemy's operations, and assiduously avoided precipitating an action, until the Prussian vigor should be exhausted, their strength impaired by losses and desertion, the first fire and ardor of their genius extinguished by continual fatigue and incessant

alarms, and until the impression made on his own men by the late defeat should in some degree be effaced. The event justified Daun's conduct: his army grew every day more numerous, while his Prussian majesty began to express the utmost impatience at the length of the siege: when that monarch first invested Prague, it was on the presumption that the numerous forces within the walls would, by consuming all the provision, oblige it to surrender in a few days; but perceiving that the Austrians had still a considerable quantity of corn, that count Daun's army was daily increasing, and would soon be powerful enough, not only to cope with the detachment under the prince of Bevern, but in a condition to raise the siege, he determined to give the count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Austrians, amounting now to 60,000 men, were deeply intrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the most advantageous posts; every accessible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills secured by difficult defiles: yet, strong as this situation might appear, formidable as the Austrian forces certainly were, his Prussian majesty undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot not exceeding 32,000 men.

39. On the thirteenth of June the king of Prussia quitted the camp before Prague, escorted by a few battalions and squadrons, with which he joined the prince of Bevern at Milkowitz: marshal Keith, it is said, strenuously opposed this measure, and advised either raising the siege intirely, and attacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or postponing the attack on the camp at Kolin until his majesty should either gain possession of the city, or some attempts should be made to oblige him to quit his posts: from either measure an advantage would have resulted: with his whole army he might probably have defeated count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat: had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian general could not have constrained him to raise the siege without losing his own advantageous situation, and giving battle on terms nearly equal: but the king, elated with success, impetuous in his valor, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of discipline, and thinking that all resistance must sink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already

surmounted such difficulties, disregarded the marshal's sage counsel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even assured of success. By the eighteenth the two armies were in sight; and his majesty found that count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was strongly reinforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him after the king's departure from Prague: he found the Austrians drawn up in three lines on the high grounds between Genlitz and St. John the Baptist: difficult as it was to approach their situation, the Prussian infantry marched up with firmness, while shot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries; and began the attack about three in the afternoon: they drove the Austrians with irresistible intrepidity from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by several battalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape-shot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loss of men, thrown into disorder. Animated with the king's presence, they rallied, and returned with double ardor to the charge, but were a second time repulsed: seven times successively did prince Ferdinand renew the attack, performing every duty of a great general and valiant soldier, though always with the same fortune: the inferiority of the Prussian infantry; the disadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act; the advantageous situation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their intrenchments, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the skill and conduct of their general, all conspired to defeat the hopes of the Prussians, to surmount their valor, and oblige them to retreat: the king then made a last and furious effort, at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy's left wing, but with as little success as all the former attacks: every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater losses and misfortunes: at last, after exposing his person in the most perilous situations, his Prussian majesty drew off his forces from the field of battle; retiring in such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, or the loss of his artillery and baggage. Almost all the officers on either side distinguished themselves; and count Daun, whose conduct emulated that of his Prussian majesty, received two slight wounds, and had a horse killed under him: the losses of both armies were very considerable; on that of the Prussians, the killed and wounded amounted to 8000; less

pernicious, however, to his majesty's cause than the frequent desertions and other innumerable ill consequences that ensued.

40. When the Prussian army arrived at Nimburg, his majesty, leaving the command with the prince of Bevern, took horse, and, escorted by twelve or fourteen hussars, set out for Prague, where he arrived next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horseback: immediately he gave orders for sending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; these were executed with so much expedition, that the tents were struck and the army on their march before the garrison were informed of the king's defeat. Thus terminated the battle of Kolin and siege of Prague, in which the acknowledged errors of his Prussian majesty were in some measure atoned by the candor with which he owned his mistake, both in a letter to the earl-marshal,³ and in conversation with several of his general officers: most people indeed imagined the king highly blamable for checking the ardor of his troops to stop and lay siege to Prague: they thought he should have pursued his conquests, over-run Austria, Moravia, and all the hereditary

³ 'The imperial grenadiers,' says he, 'are an admirable corps; 100 companies defended a rising ground, which my best infantry could not carry: Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned seven times to the charge, but to no purpose: at first he mastered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-served artillery: it did honor to Lichtenstein, who had the direction: only the Prussian army can dispute it with him: my infantry were too few: all my cavalry were present, and idle spectators, excepting a bold push by my household troops, and some dragoons: Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not sparing of theirs: they had the advantage of a rising ground, of intrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery: several of my regiments were repulsed by their musketry: Henry performed wonders: I tremble for my worthy brothers; they are too brave: Fortune turned her back on me this day: I ought to have expected it; she is a female, and I am no gallant: in fact, I ought to have had more infantry: success, my dear lord, often occasions destructive confidence: twenty-four battalions were not sufficient to dislodge 60,000 men from an advantageous post: another time we will do better. —What say you of this league, which has only the marquis of Brandenburg for its object? The great elector would be surprised to see his grandson at war with the Russians, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and 100,000 French auxiliaries: I know not whether it would be disgrace in me to submit, but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me.'

dominions, from which alone the empress-queen could draw speedy succors: a body of 20,000 or 30,000 men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Prussian forces might have obliged the imperial family to retire from Vienna, and effectually prevented count Daun from assembling another army: it was universally expected he would have bent his march straight to this capital; but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind, and it was of great importance to complete the conquest of Bohemia. The prince of Prussia marched all night with his corps to Nimburg, where he joined the prince of Bevern, and marshal Keith retreated next day: count Brown having died before of the wounds he received on the sixth of May, prince Charles of Lorraine sallied out with a large body of Austrians, and attacked the rear of the Prussians; but did no farther mischief than killing about 200 of their men. The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprisoned Austrians received their deliverer, count Daun, with inexpressible joy; and their united forces became greatly superior to those of the king of Prussia, who was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony: the Austrians harassed him as much as possible in his retreat; but their armies, though superior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late sufferings, to make any decisive attempt on him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with situations easily defended.

41. Having thus described the progress of the Prussians in Bohemia, we must cast our eyes on the transactions which distinguished the campaign in Westphalia. To guard against the storm which menaced Hanover in particular, orders were transmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been sent back from England; to augment each company; to remount the cavalry with the utmost expedition; not to suffer any horses to be conveyed out of the electorate; to furnish the magazines in that country with all things necessary for 50,000 men: of these 26,000 were to be Hanoverians, and, in consequence of engagements entered into for that purpose, 12,000 Hessians, 6000 Brunswickers, 2000 Saxe-Gothans, and 1000 Luneburgers, to be joined by a considerable body of Prussians, the whole commanded by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland. The king of England, having published a manifesto, dated at Hanover, specifying his motives for taking the field in Westphalia, the troops of the confederated states that were to compose the allied army, under the name

of an army of observation, began to assemble with all possible diligence near Bielefeldt: thither the generals, appointed to command the several divisions, repaired, to settle the plan of operations with their commander, the duke of Cumberland, who, having left London on the ninth of April, arrived on the sixteenth at Hanover, and from thence repaired to the army, which having been joined by three Prussian regiments that retired from Wesel, consisted of thirty-seven battalions and thirty-four squadrons: of these, six battalions and six squadrons were posted at Bielefeldt, under the command of lieutenant-general baron de Sporcken; six battalions, under lieutenant-general de Block, at Hervorden; six battalions and four squadrons, under major-general Ledebour, between Hervorden and Minden; seven battalions and ten squadrons, under lieutenant-general d'Oberg in the neighborhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four squadrons, under major-general de Hauss, near Nienburg: the head-quarters of his royal highness were at Bielefeldt.

42. In the mean time, the French on the Lower Rhine continued firing off incessantly: the siege of Gueldres was converted into a blockade, occasioned by the difficulties the enemy found in raising batteries; and a party of Hanoverians, having passed the Weser, as well to ravage the country of Paderborn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off several waggons loaded with wheat and oats, destined for the territories of the elector of Cologne: on the other hand, colonel Fischer, having had an engagement with a small body of Hanoverians, in the county of Mecklenburg, routed them, and made some prisoners: after several other petty skirmishes between the French and the Hanoverians, the duke of Cumberland altered the position of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of frustrating the design of the enemy; who declining to attack him on the side of Bracwede, after having reconnoitred his situation several days, made a motion on their left, as if they meant to get between him and the Weser: this step was no sooner taken, than, on the thirteenth of June in the afternoon, having received advice that the enemy had caused a large body of troops, followed by a second, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and, at the same time, major-general Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers and a regiment of horse to reinforce that post: count Schulenburg covered the left of the march with a bat-

talion of grenadiers, a regiment of horse, and the light troops of Buckeburg: the whole army marched in two columns: the right, composed of horse, and followed by two battalions, to cover their passage through the enclosures and defiles, passed by the right of Bielefeldt; and the left, consisting of infantry, marched by the left of the same town. The vanguard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the allies, commanded by major-general Einsiedel, very briskly, and at first put them into some confusion; but they immediately recovered themselves: this was in the beginning of the night: at break of day, the enemy's reinforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulsed; nor could they once break through lieutenant-colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which closed the army's march with a detachment of regular troops and a new-raised corps of hunters.

43. The allies encamped at Cofeldt the fourteenth, and remained there all the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having summoned it to surrender; but they retired without attempting any thing farther: in the mean time, the troops that were posted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, passed the Weser, on the side of Remen, without any molestation, and encamped at Holtzuysen: a body of troops, which had been left at Bielefeldt to cover the duke's retreat, after some skirmishes with the French, rejoined the army in the neighborhood of Herfort; and a few days after, his royal highness drew near his bridges on the Weser, and sent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition: at the same time, some detachments passed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendorp, and marked out a new camp advantageously situated, having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marshes: there the army under his royal highness reassembled, and the French fixed their headquarters at Bielefeldt, which the Hanoverians had quitted, leaving in it only a part of a magazine, which had been set on fire: by this time the French were in such want of forage, that M. d'Etrées himself, the princes of the blood, and all the officers without exception, were obliged to send back part of their horses: however, on the tenth of June, their whole army, consisting of seventy battalions and forty squadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, besides a body of cavalry left at Ruremonde for the convenience of forage, was

put in motion : in spite of almost impassable forests, famine, and every other obstacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced general, they at length surmounted all difficulties, and advanced into a country abounding with plenty, and unused to the ravages of war. It was imagined that the passage of the Weser, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been vigorously opposed by the army of the allies ; but whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was thought advisable to act only on the defensive, and not to begin the attack in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war, or the duke of Cumberland found himself too weak to make head against the enemy, is a question we shall not pretend to determine : however that may have been, the whole French army passed the Weser on the tenth and eleventh of July, without the loss of a man. The manner of effecting this passage is thus related : marshal d'Etrées, being informed that his magazines of provisions were well furnished, his ovens established, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the destined places, ordered lieutenant-general Broglio, with ten battalions, twelve squadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to Engheren ; lieutenant-general M. de Chevert, with sixteen battalions, three brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters, and 600 hussars, to march to Hervorden ; and lieutenant-general, marquis d'Armentières, with twelve battalions and ten squadrons, to march to Ulrickhausen : all these troops, being arrived in their camp on the fourth of July, halted the fifth : on the sixth, twenty-two battalions and thirty-two squadrons, under the command of the duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Ulrickhausen, from whence the marquis d'Armentières had set out early in the morning, with the troops under his command ; and by hasty marches got on the seventh, by eleven at night, to Blankenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrensburg : the bridges were built, the cannon planted, and the intrenchments at the head of the bridges completed in the night between the seventh and eighth : the marshal, having sent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the sixth, went in person on the seventh at eleven o'clock to Horn, and on the eighth to Braket : on advice that d'Armentières had thrown his bridges across without opposition, and was at work on his intrenchments, he went on the ninth to Blankenhoven, to see the bridges and intrenchments ; and afterwards advanced

to examine the first position he intended for this army, and came down to the right side of the Weser, to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the princes of the blood and their attendants: on the tenth, in the morning, he got on horseback by four o'clock, to see the duke of Orleans's division file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock; as also that of d'Armentières, which arrived at eleven, and that of M. Souvré, which arrived at noon: the marshal, having examined the course of the river, caused the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gun-shot of the abbey, where the viscount de Turenne passed that river in the year 1673, and where the divisions under Broglio and Chevert now passed it on the twelfth and thirteenth: these two generals, being informed of what was to be done on the Upper Weser, attacked Minden, and carried it, whilst a detachment of the French entered the country of East-Friesland, under the command of the marquis d'Auvel; and, after taking possession of Lier, marched on the right of the Ems to Emden, the only sea-port the king of Prussia had, which at first seemed determined to make a defence; but the inhabitants were not agreed on the methods to be taken for that purpose: they therefore met to deliberate; but in the mean time, their gates being shut, d'Auvel caused some cannon to be brought to beat them down; and the garrison, composed of 400 Prussians, not being strong enough to defend the town, the soldiers mutinied against their officers; whereon a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops enter with a great deal of order, assured the magistrates that care should be taken to make them observe a good discipline, and published two ordinances, one for the security of the religion and commerce of the city, and the other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and forage out of that principality: the inhabitants were, however, obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the French king.

44. On Sunday, the twenty-fourth of July, the French, after having laid part of the electorate of Hanover under contribution, marched in three columns, with their artillery, towards the village of Latford, when major-general Furstenburg, who commanded the outposts in the village, sent an officer to inform the duke of Cumberland of their approach: his royal highness immediately reinforced those posts with a body of troops, under the command of lieutenant-general

Sporcken ; but finding it impossible to support the village, as it was commanded by the heights opposite to it, which were possessed by the enemy, and being sensible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its situation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his post from Latford: the French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up in the same wood, opposite to the grenadiers commanded by major-general Hardenburg, but they failed in both ; and though the fire of their artillery was very hot, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamping on the heights opposite to the duke of Cumberland's posts, the intelligence received, that M. d'Etrées had assembled all his troops, and was furnished with a very considerable train of artillery, left his royal highness no room to doubt of his intending to attack him : he therefore resolved to change his camp for a more advantageous situation, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Weser and the woods, leaving the Hamelen river on his right, the village of Hastenbeck in his front, and his left close to the wood, at the point of which his royal highness had a battery of twelve pounders and howitzers : there was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a morass on the other side of Hastenbeck to his right : major-general Schulenburg, with the hunters and two battalions of grenadiers, was posted in the corner of the wood on the left of the battery : his royal highness ordered the village of Hastenbeck to be cleared in his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep possession of it ; and the ways, by which the allies had a communication with that village during their encampment, to be rendered impassable : in the evening he withdrew all his outposts, and in this position the army lay on their arms all night. On the twenty-fifth, in the morning, the French army marched forwards in columns, and began to cannonade the allies very severely, marching and counter-marching continually, and seeming to intend three attacks, on the right, the left, and the centre : in the evening their artillery appeared much superior to that of the allies : the army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms : his royal highness caused a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired ; count Schulenburg to be reinforced with a battalion of grenadiers and two field pieces of cannon ; and that battery to be also supported by four more battalions of grenadiers under the command of major-general Harden-

burg: he likewise caused a battery to be erected of twelve six-pounders, behind the village of Hastenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of to give the enemy a warm reception. As soon as it was daylight, he mounted on horseback to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, whom he found in the same situation as the day before: at a little after five a very smart cannonading began against the battery behind the village, which was supported by the Hessian infantry and cavalry, who stood a most severe fire with surprising steadiness and resolution: between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the allies, when his royal highness ordered major-general Behr, with three battalions of Brunswick, to sustain the grenadiers in the wood, if their assistance should be wanted: the cannonading continued above six hours, during which the troops that were exposed to it never once abated of their firmness: the fire of the small arms on the left increasing, and the French seeming to gain ground, his royal highness detached the colonels Darkenhausen and Bredenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons, round the wood by Afferde, who, towards the close of the day, drove several squadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge: at length, the grenadiers in the wood, apprehensive of being surrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that side, though they repulsed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it advisable to retire nearer the left of the army; a motion, which gave the enemy an opportunity of possessing themselves of that battery without opposition: here the hereditary prince of Brunswick distinguished himself at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttle guards and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulsed with their bayonets a superior force of the enemy, and retook the battery: but the French being in possession of an eminence which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, and where they were able to support their attack under the cover of a hill, his royal highness, considering the superior numbers of the enemy, nearly double to his, and the impossibility of dislodging them from their post without exposing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in consequence of which his army retired, first to Hamelen, where he left a garrison; then to Nienburg, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighborhood of which town,

after sending away all the magazines, sick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preserve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives and most valuable effects of Hanover had been removed. In this engagement, colonel Bredenbach attacked four brigades very strongly posted, with a battery of fourteen pieces of cannon; repulsed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition; but preferring the care of his wounded to the glory of carrying away the cannon, he brought off only six, nailing up and destroying the rest: the loss of the allies in all the skirmishes, which lasted three days, was 327 men killed, 907 wounded, and 220 missing or taken prisoners; whilst that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to 1500 men.

45. The French, being left masters of the field, soon reduced Hamelen, which was far from being well fortified; obliged the garrison to capitulate; and took out of the town sixty brass cannon, several mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the duke's army, and large quantities of provisions and ammunition, which they found in it; together with a great many sick and wounded, who not being included in the capitulation, were made prisoners of war. Whether the court of France had any reason to find fault with the conduct of the marshal d'Etrées, or whether its monarch was blindly guided by the counsels of his favorite, the marquise de Pompadour, who, desirous to testify her gratitude to the man who had been one of the chief instruments of her high promotion, was glad of an opportunity to retrieve his shattered fortunes, and, at the same time, to add to her own already immense treasures, we shall not pretend to determine; though the event seems plainly to speak the last: even at the time, no comparison was made between the military skill of the marshal d'Etrées and that of the duke de Richelieu; but, however that may have been, this last, who, if he had not shone in the character of a soldier, excelled all, or at least most of his contemporaries, in the more refined arts of a courtier, was, just before the battle we have been speaking of, appointed to supersede the former in the command of the French army in Lower Saxony, where he arrived on the sixth of August, with the title of marshal of France; and M. d'Etrées immediately resigned the command.

46. Immediately after the battle of Hastenbeck, the French

sent a detachment of 4000 men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and two days after the arrival of this new commander, the duke de Chevreuse was detached with 2000 men to take possession of Hanover itself, with the title of governor of that city: he accordingly marched thither; and on his arrival, the Hanoverian garrison was disarmed, and left at liberty to retire where they pleased: about the same time M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was sent to make himself master of the territories of Hesse-Cassel, where he found no opposition: he was met at Warburg by that prince's master of the horse, who declared that they were ready to furnish the French army with all the succors the country could afford; and accordingly the magistrates of Cassel presented him with the keys as soon as he entered their city: Gottingen was ordered by M. d'Armentières to prepare for him, within a limited time, on pain of military execution, 4000 pounds of white bread, 2000 bushels of oats, (a greater quantity than could be found in the whole country) 100 loads of hay, and other provisions.

47. The duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighborhood of Hoya till the twenty-fourth of August, when, on advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller in the night, and had passed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march, to secure the important post and passage of Rothenburg, lest they should attempt to march round on his left: he encamped that night at Hausen, having detached lieutenant-general Oberg, with eight battalions and six squadrons, to Ottersburg, to which place he marched next day, and encamped behind the Wummer, in a very strong situation, between Ottersburg and Rothenburg: the French took possession of Verden on the twenty-sixth of August, and one of their detachments went on the twenty-ninth to Bremen, where the gates were immediately opened to them: the duke of Cumberland, now closely pressed on all sides, and in danger of having his communication with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavoring to effect by seizing on all the posts round him, found it necessary to decamp again; to abandon Rothenburg, of which the French immediately took possession; to retreat to Selsingen, where his headquarters were on the first of September; and from thence, on the third of the same month, to retire under the cannon

of Stade: here it was imagined that his army would have been able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the severity of the season should put an end to the campaign: accordingly, his royal highness, on taking this position, sent a detachment of his forces to Buck-Schantz, with some artillery, and orders to defend that place to the utmost; but as it could not possibly have held out many days; and as the French, who now hemmed him in on all sides, by making themselves masters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, would have cut off his communication with the Elbe, so that four English men of war, then in that river, could have been of no service to him; he was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the king of Denmark, by his minister the count de Lynar, and to sign the famous convention of Closter-Seven,⁴ by which

⁴ This remarkable capitulation, which we shall give here at full length, on account of the disputes that arose shortly after, concerning what the French called an infraction of it, was to the following effect:—

‘ His majesty the king of Denmark, touched with the distresses of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has always granted his special protection; and being desirous, by preventing those countries from being any longer the theatre of war, to spare also the effusion of blood in the armies which are ready to dispute the possession thereof; hath employed his mediation by the ministry of the count de Lynar. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, general of the army of the allies, on the one part, and his excellency the marshal duke de Richelieu, general of the king of France’s forces in Germany, on the other, have, in consideration of the intervention of his Danish majesty, respectively engaged their word of honor to the count de Lynar to abide by the convention hereafter stipulated; and he, the count de Lynar, correspondently to the magnanimity of the king his master’s intention, obliges himself to procure the guarantee mentioned in the present convention; so that it shall be sent to him, with his full powers, which there was no time to make out, in the circumstances which hurried his departure.

‘ I. Hostilities shall cease on both sides within twenty-four hours, or sooner, if possible: orders for this purpose shall be immediately sent to the detached corps.

‘ II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the duke of Cumberland, namely, those of Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and even those of the count de la Lippe Buckeburg, shall be sent home; and as it is necessary to settle particularly their march to the respective countries, a general officer of each nation shall be sent from the army of the allies, with whom shall be settled the route of those troops, the divisions they shall march in, their subsistence on their march, and their passports to be granted them

38,000 Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment.

by his excellency the duke de Richelieu to go to their own countries, where they shall be placed and distributed as shall be agreed on between the court of France and their respective sovereigns.

‘ III. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland obliges himself to pass the Elbe, with such part of his army as he shall not be able to place in the city of Stade : that the part of his forces which shall enter into garrison in the said city, and which it is supposed may amount to between 4000 and 6000 men, shall remain there under the guarantee of his majesty the king of Denmark, without committing any act of hostility, nor, on the other hand, shall they be exposed to any from the French troops : in consequence thereof, commissaries, named on each side, shall agree on the limits to be fixed round that place, for the convenience of the garrison ; which limits shall not extend beyond half a league or a league from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumstances, which shall be fairly settled by the commissaries : the rest of the Hanoverian army shall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe ; and, to facilitate the march of those troops, his excellency the duke de Richelieu shall concert with a general officer, sent from the Hanoverian army, the route they shall take ; obliging himself to give the necessary passports and security for the free passage of them and their baggage to the places of their destination ; his royal highness the duke of Cumberland reserving to himself the liberty of negotiating between the two courts for an extension of those quarters. As to the French troops, they shall remain in the rest of the duchies of Bremen and Verden till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns.

‘ IV. As the aforesaid articles are to be executed as soon as possible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz and the neighborhood, shall retire under Stade in the space of eight and forty hours : the French army shall not pass the river Oste, in the duchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated : it shall besides keep all the posts and countries of which it is in possession ; and, not to retard the regulation of the limits between the armies, commissaries shall be nominated, and sent on the tenth instant to Bremen-warden, by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland and his excellency the marshal duke de Richelieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be assigned to the French army, as those that are to be observed by the garrison at Stade, according to the third article.

‘ V. All the aforesaid articles shall be faithfully executed, according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his majesty the king of Denmark’s guarantee, which the count de Lynar, his minister, engages to procure.

‘ Done at the camp at Closter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

(Signed) ‘ WILLIAM.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

‘ On the representation made by the count de Lynar, with a view to explain some dispositions made by the present convention, the following articles have been added :—

‘ 1. It is the intention of his excellency the marshal duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland shall be sent back to their respective countries according to the form mentioned in the second article ; and that as to their separation and distribution in the country, it shall be regulated between the courts, those troops not being considered as prisoners of war.

‘ 11. It having been represented that the country of Luneburg cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and six squadrons, and that the city of Stade cannot absolutely contain the garrison of 6000 men allotted to it, his excellency the marshal duke de Richelieu being pressed by M. de Lynar, who supported this representation by the guarantee of his Danish majesty, gives his consent ; and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland engages to cause fifteen battalions and six squadrons to pass the Elbe ; and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places nearest to it that are within the line, which shall be marked by posts from the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the river Oste ; provided always, that the said ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be quartered there as they are at the time of signing this convention, and shall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any case ; and this clause is particularly guarantied by the count de Lynar, in the name of his Danish majesty.

‘ 111. On the representation of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, that the army and the detached corps cannot both retire under Stade in eight and forty hours, agreeable to the convention ; his excellency the marshal duke de Richelieu has signified that he will grant them proper time, provided the corps encamped at Buck-Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremen-warden, begin their march to retire in four and twenty hours after signing the convention : the time necessary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the respective limits, shall be settled between lieutenant-general Sporcken, and the marquis de Villemar, first lieutenant-general of the king’s army.

‘ Done &c.’

END OF VOLUME IX.





